



Tom Brokaw on  
The Legacy of  
Walter Cronkite

Will the Blue Dogs  
Slow Health Care  
Reform?



Unlocking  
The Mystery of  
Infant Mortality

# TIME

SPECIAL  
REPORT

## THE FINAL DAYS OF BUSH AND CHENEY

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI  
& MICHAEL WEISSKOPF



IMAGINE THIS BLISTERING RASH ALONG WITH STABBING PAIN



AND YOU'LL HAVE AN IDEA OF  
WHAT IT CAN BE LIKE TO HAVE SHINGLES.



For more information on the availability of ZOSTAVAX through the Merck Vaccine Patient Assistance Program, visit [ZOSTAVAX.com/freevaccines](http://ZOSTAVAX.com/freevaccines) or call 1-877-9 SHINGLES.



## IF YOU HAD CHICKENPOX AS A CHILD, YOU COULD GET SHINGLES NOW.

### The chickenpox virus is still in your body.

It can resurface as Shingles, a painful, blistering rash. The Shingles rash usually lasts up to 30 days, and for most the pain lessens as the rash heals. But some people who develop Shingles experience long-term pain that can last for months, even years.

### ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that can help prevent Shingles.

ZOSTAVAX is used to prevent Shingles in adults 60 years of age or older. Once you reach age 60, the sooner you get vaccinated, the better your chances of protecting yourself from Shingles. ZOSTAVAX is given as a single shot. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat Shingles, or the nerve pain that may follow Shingles, once you have it. Talk to your health care professional to see if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

### Important Safety Information

ZOSTAVAX may not fully protect everyone who gets the vaccine. You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you are allergic to any of its ingredients, including gelatin and neomycin, have a weakened immune system, take high doses of steroids, or are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Possible side effects include redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising at the injection site, as well as headache. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088. Before getting vaccinated, talk to your health care professional about situations you may need to avoid after getting ZOSTAVAX. Please see the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.

Before you get **Shingles**, ask about ZOSTAVAX.

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9815607

You should read this summary of information about ZOSTAVAX<sup>1</sup> before you are vaccinated. If you have any questions about ZOSTAVAX after reading this leaflet, you should ask your health care provider. This information does not take the place of talking about ZOSTAVAX with your doctor, nurse, or other health care provider. Only your health care provider can decide if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

**What is ZOSTAVAX and how does it work?**

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that is used for adults 60 years of age or older to prevent shingles (also known as zoster).

ZOSTAVAX contains a weakened chickenpox virus (varicella-zoster virus).

ZOSTAVAX works by helping your immune system protect you from getting shingles. If you do get shingles even though you have been vaccinated, ZOSTAVAX may help prevent the nerve pain that can follow shingles in some people.

ZOSTAVAX may not protect everyone who gets the vaccine. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat shingles once you have it.

**What do I need to know about shingles and the virus that causes it?**

Shingles is caused by the same virus that causes chickenpox. Once you have had chickenpox, the virus can stay in your nervous system for many years. For reasons that are not fully understood, the virus may become active again and give you shingles. Age and problems with the immune system may increase your chances of getting shingles.

Shingles is a rash that is usually on one side of the body. The rash begins as a cluster of small red spots that often blister. The rash can be painful. Shingles rashes usually last up to 30 days and, for most people, the pain associated with the rash lessens as it heals.

**Who should not get ZOSTAVAX?**

You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you:

- are allergic to any of its ingredients.
- are allergic to gelatin or neomycin.
- have a weakened immune system (for example, an immune deficiency, leukemia, lymphoma, or HIV/AIDS).
- take high doses of steroids by injection or by mouth.
- are pregnant or plan to get pregnant.

You should not get ZOSTAVAX to prevent chickenpox.

Children should not get ZOSTAVAX.

**How is ZOSTAVAX given?**

ZOSTAVAX is given as a single dose by injection under the skin.

**What should I tell my health care provider before I get ZOSTAVAX?**

You should tell your health care provider if you:

- have or have had any medical problems.
- take any medicines, including nonprescription medicines, and dietary supplements.
- have any allergies, including allergies to neomycin or gelatin.
- had an allergic reaction to another vaccine.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breast-feeding.

Tell your health care provider if you expect to be in close contact (including household contact) with newborn infants, someone who may be pregnant and has not had chickenpox or been vaccinated against chickenpox, or someone who has problems with their immune system. Your health care provider can tell you what situations you may need to avoid.

**What are the possible side effects of ZOSTAVAX?**

The most common side effects that people in the clinical studies reported after receiving the vaccine include:

- redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising where the shot was given.
- headache.

The following additional side effects have been reported in general use with ZOSTAVAX:

- allergic reactions, which may be serious and may include difficulty in breathing or swallowing. If you have an allergic reaction, call your doctor right away.
- fever
- rash
- swollen glands near the injection site (that may last a few days to a few weeks)

Tell your health care provider if you have any new or unusual symptoms after you receive ZOSTAVAX.

**What are the ingredients of ZOSTAVAX?**

Active Ingredient: a weakened form of the varicella-zoster virus.

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, hydrolyzed porcine gelatin, sodium chloride, monosodium L-glutamate, sodium phosphate dibasic, potassium phosphate monobasic, potassium chloride.

**What else should I know about ZOSTAVAX?**

Vaccinees and their health care providers are encouraged to call (800) 986-8999 to report any exposure to ZOSTAVAX during pregnancy.

This leaflet summarizes important information about ZOSTAVAX.

If you would like more information, talk to your health care provider or visit the website at [www.ZOSTAVAX.com](http://www.ZOSTAVAX.com) or call 1-800-622-4477.

**Rx only**

Issued December 2008

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On the cover: Photograph by Luke Frazza—AFP/Getty. Insets, from left: CBS/Landov; Tom Grillo—Getty

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To Our Readers

# History and Health.

We take you inside the rift between Bush and Cheney—and we collaborate with the Aspen Institute on a health-care forum

SOME DISAGREEMENTS IN POLITICS ARE personal, some are partisan, and some go to the heart of the meaning of constitutional democracy. The disagreement at the center of this week's extraordinary cover story is a combination of all three. The tale of the rift between George W. Bush and Dick Cheney is an inside look at the complex relationship that shaped so much of this decade.

The two men differed over whether to pardon Cheney's former chief of staff Scooter Libby. But the divide reveals different conceptions of what is the highest value in a democracy. As I read about the Vice President's strongly held views, I couldn't help thinking of Barry Goldwater's famous line that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice." President Bush, in contrast, comes across as more rule-based, more literal, more risk averse. You can decide for yourself, but there's no disagreement that this story offers a first draft of history about the final days of the Bush Administration.

The cover was conceived and framed by Washington bureau chief Michael Duffy, who set it in motion months ago. The story was written by Washington correspondent Massimo Calabresi and senior correspondent Michael Weisskopf. Calabresi covered the last two years of the Bush White House for *TIME* and spoke to many of Bush's former political advisers for this story. Weisskopf, a tenacious journalist who lost his right hand while reporting for *TIME* in Iraq, spent two months interviewing legal sources on all sides of the story, going back to them again and again to clarify the issues.

THIS WEEK *TIME* AND THE ASPEN INSTITUTE are convening the Aspen Health Forum to discuss the most critical issues in health care and medical science. We are bringing together more than 75 world-class scientists and thought leaders in Aspen, Colo., to explore and discuss everything from the science of sex to food for a new world. Guests include Dr. Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and



#### Inside the divide

Weisskopf, Calabresi and Duffy describe the tension and drama of Bush and Cheney's last days in office



#### Eye on health

Advances debated in Aspen could help cut infant-mortality rates

Infectious Diseases, and the best-selling author Dr. Deepak Chopra. For next week's issue, I will be interviewing heart surgeon and author Dr. Mehmet Oz for our regular 10 Questions franchise. To coincide with the forum, this week's magazine contains a superb and disturbing story by Laura Blue about infant mortality and why the U.S. ranks No. 30 in the world. That will be only one of the many topics we'll be exploring in Aspen.

*Rich*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

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# 10 Questions. The producer's latest movie, *G-Force*, is in theaters now. **Jerry Bruckheimer will now take your questions**



## Next Questions

Ask Ashton Kutcher your question about an upcoming interview, at [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

**Are kid-friendly movies such as *G-Force* more profitable and less costly to make than R- or PG-rated movies?**

*Alice Troup, RIVERVIEW, MICH.*  
I think it depends on the movie. Some kids' movies are very expensive to make. It depends on if it's a big animated movie like a *Shrek* or a *Lion King*. The rating has nothing to do with the cost of the film.

**How can you tell which scripts will make good films?**

*Jimmy Kain, SHANGHAI*  
You don't really know. You just go with your gut and hope that from all of your years of experience in making movies, you have good instincts about the material you like and want to bring to an audience.

**From *National Treasure* to *Confessions of a Shopaholic*, your work in film has been very diverse. Is there a type of film you haven't done yet that you really want to do?**

*James Vega, CHICAGO*  
We keep exploring new things. I haven't done a real thriller in a long time, so that's something we're thinking about doing.

**A lot of times you hear about producers interfering in a director's vision for a film. Why do producers get such a bad rap in Hollywood?**

*Brent Kossina, ORLANDO, FLA.*  
I guess you always look at the authority figure as someone you want to get around. It depends how you do it. In our case, when we make movies, the director, the producer and the studio are all on the same page about what movie they want to make. [Problems arise] when one of those par-



**JERRY BRUCKHEIMER  
HERE FROM HOLLYWOOD**

ticipants is making a different movie. Hopefully, you work out all those things before you make the film.

**Do you get defensive when people talk about your work as escapist entertainment?**

*Dexter Coronado, MANILA*  
No, I don't get offended at all. What I try to do is entertain people. If I make big blockbusters that are fun for people to watch and take them away from their daily lives, then I've done my job.

**Does an unknown writer have any chance of getting a script read by a studio or put into production?**

*Stewart Stafford, DUBLIN*  
Of course. Every writer in Hollywood started by writing

a screenplay and getting recognition. If the movie didn't get made, it at least got noticed by somebody—a producer or an agent. If someone is prolific and keeps working at it, they're going to do it. You've just got to keep writing. I'm sure we could show you instances of very famous screenwriters whose first screenplay wasn't very good. They just kept at it.

**Why do studios pay such enormous salaries for certain stars?**

*Melissa Kennedy, BERWYN, PA.*  
Usually, stars are paid what they will bring in at the box office. So if you get, let's say, Will Smith, you're guaranteed to get his salary or more the first weekend, just by

his name alone. The movie doesn't have to be fantastic. But he certainly draws people in, and that's why we pay him the money.

**Does knowing the secrets of movie magic ever take some of the fun out of watching the final cut?**

*Max Gaerson, ORLANDO, FLA.*  
Never. It's always about great storytelling and great characters. When you see a really brilliant film, even though there's technique involved, you're not aware of it because the characters are so engaging.

**Are we really going to see a *Pirates of the Caribbean 4*?**

*Oguz Akyl, DENIZLI, TURKEY*  
God, I hope so. I can't wait to see it. We are working on a screenplay right now, and hopefully that will come together. These things are difficult to get right. We know Johnny [Depp] is interested in doing it, so that's a good start.

**What is the best way to boost the movie industry?**

*James Xabregas, BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA*  
Make good films. That's the only way. As long as we make really engaging films that people want to see and are entertained by, we'll keep making a lot of movies and audiences will flock to theaters.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

**To watch a video interview with Jerry Bruckheimer and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)**



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I ♥ my family

I ♥ good news

I ♥ my mom

I ♥ learning

I ♥ my mom

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I ♥ my family

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October 2, 2009

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I ♥ Jill

I ♥ Sundays

I ♥ my sister

I ♥ my fa

I ♥ laughter

I ♥ a good fight

I ♥ my kids

I ♥ silver linings

I ♥ my doctors

I ♥ my daughter

I ♥

Christina Applegate

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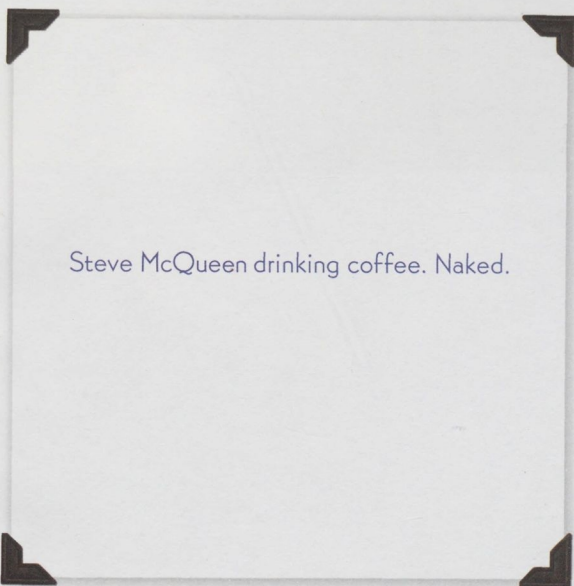
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# Postcard: New Delhi.

As India modernizes, an icon of traditional femininity falls out of favor. **Mourning the dying art of the sari**

BY JESSICA PUDUSSERY

I AM STANDING IN DILLI HAAT, NEW Delhi's popular open-air handicrafts market, feeling a little guilty. My usual uniform for a hot summer evening—jeans, sandals and a comfortable cotton tunic—is putting people out of business.

"People in Delhi have abandoned their own traditional clothing," says Bilal Ahmed, 24, a sari weaver who works for his family business in Jammu and Kashmir. "People don't buy saris anymore. Now they buy jeans."

Ahmed has been working in the sari business for the past 13 years. During that time, the attire's popularity has declined drastically among women in India's cities. The sari industry is composed mostly of small-scale businesses, so there are no comprehensive statistics to track sales. But observers say that as sartorial tastes have changed, this centuries-old emblem of Indian culture has fallen out of fashion. The market for handloomed saris—simple cotton garments, usually with plain designs and muted colors, that many Indian women used to wear daily—has been particularly hard hit. "Sari" giggles Rashmi Raniwal, a 22-year-old sales assistant. "I never wear it casually. Only for formal occasions."

Sari sales do pick up during the winter, Delhi's high season for lavish parties and weddings. But fashionable young women favor designer saris made on power looms over traditional handwoven silks like the ones in their mothers' cabinets. "Who wears traditional saris anymore?" asks Deepa Nangia, 36, a nutritionist who calls herself a "sari freak." In her circle of friends, she says, she is the only one who wears saris at all. "I think it's just gradually dying out with time."

The most prized sari styles—made of Banarasi or Kanjeevaram silk—are also facing stiffer competition. Depending on the intricacy of the design, it can take 15 to 30 days to weave just one of these gar-



**Slumping sales** Shoppers visit a sari store in Delhi's Chandni Chowk bazaar

ments, which sell for \$50 to \$60 apiece. The hefty price and painstaking procedure have left manufacturers vulnerable to competition from knockoffs produced on power looms and from cheap Chinese imports. "The industry is facing lots of difficulties," says Abdul Basit Ansari, 37, a Banarasi-silk weaver who has been making the garment for 20 years.

Sarimakers are struggling even in South India, where saris are much more popular. In the district of Kanchipuram, near Chennai, the number of weaver cooperatives has fallen from 22 in 2004 to just 13, according to the Indian magazine *Business Today*. Of these, only five say their business is prospering. Total annual sari sales plunged in 2008 to \$12 million, down from \$40 million in 2004. The best-known sari shops—like Nalli, which boasts gleaming showrooms in several big Indian cities—have contracts with Kanjeevaram-weaver co-ops, which helps them hang on. But that's not enough to stop people from fleeing the profession. In and around the district of Kanchipuram, famous for its silk saris, the num-

ber of weavers has slipped from 60,000 10 years ago to about 20,000 today.

The sari still has no rival as an iconic image of Indian femininity. Look no further than Indian soap operas, in which seemingly every actress wears the garment, impeccably ironed and draped, while cooking and scheming against her mother-in-law. But in real life, few Indian women have the time—or the household help—to maintain a wardrobe of six-yard-long starched cottons and silks. The younger ones have cast off the sari as easily as they've started buying their own cars or renting their own apartments—two other once unthinkable emblems of independence. Kriti Budhiraja, 20, a political-science student at Delhi University, says she's sad to see the sari fading, slowly and almost imperceptibly, from Indian life. But she understands the reasons: "There is a general perception that you would consider a woman in Western formal wear more empowered than her more traditional counterparts." Then again, maybe real independence for Indian women means wearing whatever you want without worrying about what other people think.



# Inbox

## Is Palin Bailin'?

WHETHER SHE DESERVES IT OR NOT, SARAH PALIN has attracted extremes in media coverage, which helped establish her reputation as a divisive figure [July 20]. Thank you for the most balanced profile I have seen since Palin hit the media spotlight.

Greg Tilley, ASHBURN, VA.

NICE COVER, AND PALIN LOOKS GREAT IN relaxed clothing. I'm just wondering, Is that Russia behind her?

Cindi Olson, MINNEAPOLIS

PUTTING ASIDE QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT Palin's intellectual capacities and odd sense of self-importance, it was inappropriate to feature her on TIME's cover for one key reason: while running for national public office, she risked inciting violence by allowing those in her audience to shout "Kill him!" in reference to her comment that Barack Obama "pals around with terrorists." Not once did she quiet this inflammatory rhetoric. As a result, Palin turned herself into a national disgrace.

Lynn Shahan, MESA, ARIZ.

WHEN PALIN CAME ON THE NATIONAL scene last August, I became a fan. I am highly disappointed in her now. She has shown her true colors on the issue of commitment. She is a quitter. The people of Alaska deserved better.

Michael Young, LEXINGTON, VA.

**'I admire Sacha Baron Cohen for exposing unsavory characters, but he has also turned into a Hollywood moneymaking machine.'**

Daniel Cuihat, CEDAR FALLS, IOWA

**Get über it!** TIME's praise of the comic in a July 20 story drew some naysayers

WHY ALL THE COMMOTION? PALIN MADE a wise choice to escape the vicissitudes of cutthroat politics. She received many votes last year. Now she is retiring to enjoy family life and catch her breath. No doubt that as a true world champion, she will come back in due time for another round.

Jacques Gilly, DELRAY BEACH, FLA.

I'LL BE THE FIRST TO ADMIT THAT PALIN is a remarkable presence. But as a sometime hunter, I am appalled that she avidly supported permitting "sportsmen" to pursue and slaughter wolves from aircraft, opposed stronger protections for beluga whales and favored drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, which, it has been estimated, might supply a year and a half's worth of U.S. oil consumption and would probably scar the fragile tundra for centuries. So much for her claims of standing up to Big Oil and her image as a whole-some out-of-doors type.

Henry Armistead, PHILADELPHIA

## More Help Needed for Moms

TIME HAS DONE A GREAT DISERVICE to mothers suffering from postpartum depression (PPD) [July 20]. You showed a clear lack of understanding about the seriousness of this illness, which affects 10% to 20% of new mothers. PPD impacts a mother's ability to function; it is not a "difficult period." It has many risk factors, not just a history of depression or anxiety. Although



## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In a review of the book *Methland* in the Skimmer, we mistakenly referred to methamphetamine as a narcotic [July 6]. It is a stimulant.

effective treatment is available, fewer than half of cases are recognized. Fewer of those women ever receive treatment. The Mothers Act, which funds research, education and awareness, is the only piece of legislation that would help systematize sorely lacking support and services. Despite your assertions, much of the medical community supports the bill, and none of the screening tools for depression were designed to take the place of evaluation by clinicians.

Katherine Stone, FAYETTEVILLE, GA.

## Low-Profile Leadership

IT WAS REFRESHING TO READ ABOUT SOME effective world leaders whose names are barely known to most of us [July 20]. In particular, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon is rightly applauded for handling his role deftly. What a concept to consider: Forget trying to charm everyone and just get the job done.

Joan Westrick, WINDSOR, CALIF.

## A Fitting Memorial

I AM OUTRAGED BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK'S article on the memorial for Michael Jackson [July 20]. A serious perusal of the piece reveals sarcasm and personal bias. Jackson was placed on a pedestal all his life. No human can live up to that level of public scrutiny. In life as well as in death, he was an unforgettable icon. The vast majority of people around the planet will always remember Jackson as an extraordinary musical talent, humanitarian, philanthropist, family man, friend and, most of all, dad to his dear children. Like all of us, he made many mistakes in life but will not be defined by them in death.

Uchenma John Emenike, TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

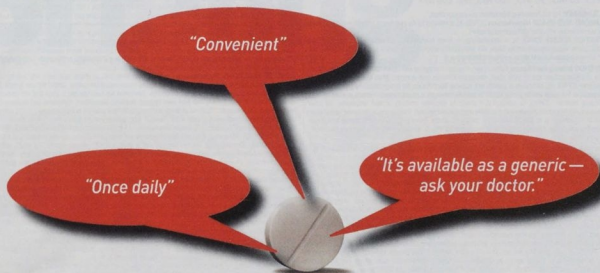


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COME BACK TO **TOPROL-XL** AND ITS GENERIC EQUIVALENT  
(**METOPROLOL SUCCINATE**\*) FOR ONCE-DAILY BLOOD PRESSURE MEDICINE



You may have recently been switched to a twice-daily metoprolol because of a supply shortage. The once-daily TOPROL-XL (metoprolol succinate) or its generic equivalent is available for the treatment of your high blood pressure.

TOPROL-XL is an extended-release metoprolol, which means you get more consistent control of your high blood pressure throughout the day than with twice-daily metoprolol. TOPROL-XL is a once-daily medication.

**Important Safety Information you should know about TOPROL-XL (metoprolol succinate) extended-release tablets.**

TOPROL-XL is indicated for the treatment of high blood pressure. It may be used alone or in combination with other medications to treat high blood pressure. It's good for you to know more about your medical condition and the medicine you are taking for it. So, talk to your doctor about high blood pressure and TOPROL-XL.

**Because of the possibility of serious side effects, such as chest pain or a heart attack, you should not stop taking TOPROL-XL suddenly. If your doctor decides you should stop taking TOPROL-XL, you may be instructed to slowly reduce your dose over a period of time before stopping it completely.**

TOPROL-XL may not be right for everyone, especially people who have the following health conditions:

- Extreme slowing of the heart rate
- Sudden and severe drop in the blood pressure and blood flow through the body because the heart is not pumping normally
- Uncontrolled heart failure
- Slowdown of the heart's electrical signal causing a slower heart rate
- Damage to the heart's natural pacemaker that affects the heart's rhythm unless a pacemaker device is in the body
- Any allergies to TOPROL-XL or its ingredients

TOPROL-XL and metoprolol succinate are available in 4 strengths: 25 mg, 50 mg, 100 mg, and 200 mg. Talk to your doctor to see if TOPROL-XL is right for you, again.

It is important to take your medications every day as directed by your doctor.

Patients who have asthma or asthma-like lung disease should, in general, not take TOPROL-XL. Your doctor may not want you to take TOPROL-XL if you are taking certain types of high blood pressure medicine; have diabetes; overactive thyroid disease; hardening of the arteries in the arms or legs, or are having major surgery.

Until you know how you will react to TOPROL-XL, avoid activities that require alertness.

In patients with high blood pressure, the most common side effects were tiredness, dizziness, depression, diarrhea, itching or rash, shortness of breath, and slow heart rate. If you experience any of these or other side effects, contact your doctor.

**Please see adjacent page for a brief summary of the full Prescribing Information, including boxed WARNING regarding abrupt cessation of therapy.**

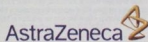
If you cannot afford your prescription, AstraZeneca may be able to help.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

**For questions, or to learn more, contact the AstraZeneca Information Center at 1-877-897-2213 or visit [TOPROL-XL.com](http://TOPROL-XL.com).**

\* Manufactured for Par Pharmaceutical Companies, Inc. by AstraZeneca AB, Södertälje, Sweden.

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Please read this summary carefully and then ask your doctor about TOPROL-XL. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you. This advertisement does not take the place of careful discussions with your doctor. Only your doctor has the training to weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

## TOPROL-XL<sup>®</sup> (metoprolol succinate)

### EXTENDED-RELEASE TABLETS

TABLETS: 25 MG, 50 MG, 100 MG, and 200 MG

#### BRIEF SUMMARY:

For full prescribing information, see package insert.

**INDICATIONS AND USAGE:** Hypertension. TOPROL-XL is indicated for the treatment of hypertension. It may be used in combination with other antihypertensive drugs.

**CONTRAINDICATIONS:** TOPROL-XL is contraindicated in severe bradycardia, heart block greater than first degree, cardiogenic shock, decompensated cardiac failure, sinus bradycardia (unless a permanent pacemaker is in place), and in patients who are hypersensitive to any component of this product.

**WARNINGS:** Ischemic Heart Disease: Following abrupt cessation of therapy with certain beta-blockers, especially those of agents acting primarily on the coronary arteries, there is a risk of myocardial infarction. Following abrupt discontinuation of therapy with TOPROL-XL, particularly in patients with ischemic heart disease, the dosage should be gradually reduced over a period of 1-2 weeks and the patient should be carefully monitored. If angina markedly worsens or acute coronary insufficiency develops, TOPROL-XL administration should be reinstated promptly, at least temporarily, and other measures appropriate for the management of angina should be taken. Patients should be warned against abrupt interruption or discontinuation of therapy without the physician's advice. Because coronary artery disease is common and may be unrecognized, it may be prudent not to discontinue TOPROL-XL therapy abruptly even in patients treated only for hypertension.

**BRONCHOSPASTIC DISEASES:** PATIENTS WITH BRONCHOSPASTIC DISEASES SHOULD, IN GENERAL, NOT RECEIVE BETA-BLOCKERS. Because of its relative beta<sub>2</sub>-selectivity, however, TOPROL-XL may be used with caution in patients with bronchospastic disease who do not respond to, or cannot tolerate, other antihypertensive treatment. Since beta-selectivity is not absolute, a beta-stimulating agent should be administered concomitantly, and the lowest possible dose of TOPROL-XL should be used. **DOSE AND ADMINISTRATION:** **Pharmacokinetics:** In TOPROL-XL, is used in the treatment of hypertension, it should be used in combination with an alpha-blocker, and only after the alpha-blocker has been initiated. Administration of beta-blockers alone in the setting of pheochromocytoma has been associated with a paradoxical increase in blood pressure due to the attenuation of beta-mediated vasodilation in skeletal muscle. **Major Surgery:** The cessation or desirability of withdrawing beta-blocker therapy prior to major surgery is controversial; the potential ability of the heart to respond to reflex tachycardia may be augmented by the risks of general anesthesia and surgical procedures. Acute infarction of high-dose metoprolol in patients undergoing non-cardiac surgery should be avoided, since it has been associated with bradycardia, hypotension and shock, including fatal outcomes in patients with cardiovascular risk factors. TOPROL-XL, like other beta-blockers, is a competitive inhibitor of beta-receptor agonists, and its effects can be overcome by administration of such agents as dobutamine or isoproterenol. However, such patients may be subject to protracted severe hypotension. Difficulty in restarting and maintaining the heart beat has also been reported with beta-blockers. **Diabetes and Hypoglycemia:** TOPROL-XL should be used with caution in diabetic patients if a beta-blocking agent is required. Beta-blockers may mask tachycardia occurring with hypoglycemia, but other manifestations such as diaphoresis, tremor, and hunger may not be significantly affected. TOPROL-XL should be used with caution in patients with hypoglycemia (e.g., in patients with diabetes mellitus). Patients subjected of developing hypoglycemia should be managed carefully to avoid abrupt withdrawal of beta-blockade, which might precipitate a thyroid storm. **Peripheral Vascular Disease:** Beta-blockers can precipitate or aggravate symptoms of arterial insufficiency in patients with peripheral vascular disease. Caution should be exercised in such individuals. **Calcium Channel Blockers:** Concomitant use of significant doses of beta-blockers with calcium channel blockers of the verapamil and diltiazem type, caution should be exercised in patients treated with these agents concomitantly.

**PRECAUTIONS:** General: TOPROL-XL should be used with caution in patients with impaired hepatic function. In patients with renal impairment, an alpha-blocker should be initiated prior to the use of any beta-blocking agent. (see WARNINGS). Worsening cardiac failure may occur during treatment of TOPROL-XL in such symptoms occur. Patients should be instructed and the dose of TOPROL-XL should not be advanced until clinical stability is restored (see DOSE AND ADMINISTRATION). It may be necessary to lower the dose of TOPROL-XL or temporarily discontinue it. Such episodes do not preclude subsequent successful treatment of hypertension. Patients should be advised to avoid alcohol, sedatives, and other drugs that may depress the central nervous system, particularly when taking TOPROL-XL.

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placebo for change in SBP and DBP. The mean placebo corrected reduction in SBP ranged from 3 to 6 mmHg, and DBP from 1 to 5 mmHg. Mean reduction in heart rate ranged from 5 to 7 bpm but considerable greater reductions were seen in some individuals. (see DOSE AND ADMINISTRATION). Pediatric Hypertensive Patients 2-6 years of age. No clinically relevant differences in the adverse event profile were observed for pediatric patients aged 2 to 16 years as compared to adults. Safety and effectiveness of TOPROL-XL have not been established in patients < 6 years of age. **Geriatric Use:** Clinical studies of TOPROL-XL in hypertension did not include sufficient numbers of subjects aged 65 and over to determine whether they respond differently from younger subjects. Other reported clinical experience in hypertensive patients has not identified differences in responses between elderly and younger patients. Of the 1,993 patients with heart failure treated with TOPROL-XL, the MERIT-HF trial, 50% (990) were 65 years of age and older and 12% (238) were 75 years of age and older. There were no notable differences in efficacy or the rate of adverse events between elderly and younger patients. In general, dose selection for an elderly patient should be cautious, usually starting at the low end of the dosing range, reflecting greater frequency of decreased hepatic, renal, or cardiac function, and of concomitant disease or other drug therapy. **Anaphylactic Reactions:** While taking beta-blockers, patients with a history of severe anaphylactic reactions to a variety of allergens may be more reactive to repeated challenge, either accidental, diagnostic, or therapeutic. Such patients may be expected to have a less than average reaction to beta-adrenergic agonist administered as a rescue measure during an allergic reaction.

**ADVERSE REACTIONS:** Depression and Anxiety: Adverse effects have been mild and transient. The following adverse reactions have been reported for immediate release metoprolol tartrate. Central Nervous System: Tiredness and dizziness have occurred in about 10 of 100 patients. Depression has been reported in about 5 of 100 patients. Mild confusion and short-term memory loss have been reported. Headaches, somnolence, nightmares, and insomnia have also been reported. Cardiovascular: Shortness of breath and bradycardia have occurred in approximately 3 of 100 patients. Cold extremities, arterial insufficiency, usually of the Raynaud type; palpitations; congestive heart failure; peripheral edema; syncope; chest pain; and hypertension have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. (see CONTRAINDICATIONS, WARNINGS, and PRECAUTIONS). Respiratory: Wheezing (bronchospasm) and dyspnea have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. **WARNINGS:** Gastrointestinal: Diarrhea has occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Nausea, dry mouth, gastric pain, constipation, flatulence, digestive tract disorders, and heartburn have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. Hypertensive Reactions: Phurals or rashes have occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Worsening of priapism has also been reported. Musculoskeletal: Pyriminism has been reported in less than 1% of patients. Arthralgia, myalgia, and muscle pain have been reported in about 1% of patients. There have been rare reports of reversible alopecia, agranulocytosis, and dry eye. Discontinuation of the drug should be considered if any such reaction is not otherwise explicable. The oculomucocutaneous syndrome associated with the beta-blockers has been reported with metoprolol. **Potential Adverse Reactions:** In addition, there are a variety of adverse reactions that have been reported with TOPROL-XL after beta-adrenergic blocking agents and are considered potential adverse reactions not reported with TOPROL-XL. Central Nervous System: Reversible mental depression progressing to cataplexy; a rare reversible syndrome characterized by disorientation for time and place, short-term memory loss, emotional lability, slightly cludged sensorium, and decreased performance on neurophysiologic tests. Cardiovascular: Intermittent of AV block (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). Hypertensive: Agranulocytosis, thrombocytopenia, purpura, thrombocytopenic purpura, leukopenia, neutropenia, and aplastic anemia. Respiratory: Severe asthma, laryngospasm, and respiratory distress. **Heart Failure:** In the MERIT-HF trial, serious adverse events and adverse events leading to discontinuation of study medication were systematically collected in the MERIT-HF study comparing TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) to placebo (N=1993). In the MERIT-HF study, the following adverse events were reported in patients receiving TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) compared to placebo (N=1993): In the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

**Adverse Events Occurring in the MERIT-HF Study at an Incidence >1% in the TOPROL-XL Group and Greater Than Placebo by More Than 0.5%**

	TOPROL-XL N=1990 % of patients	Placebo N=2007 % of patients
Dizziness/vertigo	1.8	1.0
Bradycardia	1.5	0.4
Accident and/or injury	1.4	0.8

Other adverse events with an incidence of >1% in TOPROL-XL, and as common as placebo (within 0.5%) included myocardial infarction, cerebrovascular disorder, chest pain, congestive heart failure, peripheral edema, syncope, stroke, arterial disorder, ventricular tachycardia/tachyarrhythmia, angina, hypertension, diabetes mellitus, melasma/melasma, abdominal pain, and fatigue. **Post-Marketing Experience:** The following adverse events have been reported with TOPROL-XL in worldwide post-marketing use, regardless of causality: Cardiovascular: 2nd and 3rd degree heart block, cardiogenic shock, bradycardia, acute myocardial infarction, myocardial ischemia, 12.2% of patients. The following lists adverse events in the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

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Other adverse events with an incidence of >1% in TOPROL-XL, and as common as placebo (within 0.5%) included myocardial infarction, cerebrovascular disorder, chest pain, congestive heart failure, peripheral edema, syncope, stroke, arterial disorder, ventricular tachycardia/tachyarrhythmia, angina, hypertension, diabetes mellitus, melasma/melasma, abdominal pain, and fatigue. **Post-Marketing Experience:** The following adverse events have been reported with TOPROL-XL in worldwide post-marketing use, regardless of causality: Cardiovascular: 2nd and 3rd degree heart block, cardiogenic shock, bradycardia, acute myocardial infarction, myocardial ischemia, 12.2% of patients. The following lists adverse events in the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

**ADVERSE REACTIONS:** Depression and Anxiety: Adverse effects have been mild and transient. The following adverse reactions have been reported for immediate release metoprolol tartrate. Central Nervous System: Tiredness and dizziness have occurred in about 10 of 100 patients. Depression has been reported in about 5 of 100 patients. Mild confusion and short-term memory loss have been reported. Headaches, somnolence, nightmares, and insomnia have also been reported. Cardiovascular: Shortness of breath and bradycardia have occurred in approximately 3 of 100 patients. Cold extremities, arterial insufficiency, usually of the Raynaud type; palpitations; congestive heart failure; peripheral edema; syncope; chest pain; and hypertension have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. (see CONTRAINDICATIONS, WARNINGS, and PRECAUTIONS). Respiratory: Wheezing (bronchospasm) and dyspnea have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. **WARNINGS:** Gastrointestinal: Diarrhea has occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Nausea, dry mouth, gastric pain, constipation, flatulence, digestive tract disorders, and heartburn have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. Hypertensive Reactions: Phurals or rashes have occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Worsening of priapism has also been reported. Musculoskeletal: Pyriminism has been reported in less than 1% of patients. Arthralgia, myalgia, and muscle pain have been reported in about 1% of patients. There have been rare reports of reversible alopecia, agranulocytosis, and dry eye. Discontinuation of the drug should be considered if any such reaction is not otherwise explicable. The oculomucocutaneous syndrome associated with the beta-blockers has been reported with metoprolol. **Potential Adverse Reactions:** In addition, there are a variety of adverse reactions that have been reported with TOPROL-XL after beta-adrenergic blocking agents and are considered potential adverse reactions not reported with TOPROL-XL. Central Nervous System: Reversible mental depression progressing to cataplexy; a rare reversible syndrome characterized by disorientation for time and place, short-term memory loss, emotional lability, slightly cludged sensorium, and decreased performance on neurophysiologic tests. Cardiovascular: Intermittent of AV block (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). Hypertensive: Agranulocytosis, thrombocytopenia, purpura, thrombocytopenic purpura, leukopenia, neutropenia, and aplastic anemia. Respiratory: Severe asthma, laryngospasm, and respiratory distress. **Heart Failure:** In the MERIT-HF trial, serious adverse events and adverse events leading to discontinuation of study medication were systematically collected in the MERIT-HF study comparing TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) to placebo (N=1993). In the MERIT-HF study, the following adverse events were reported in patients receiving TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) compared to placebo (N=1993): In the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

**ADVERSE REACTIONS:** Depression and Anxiety: Adverse effects have been mild and transient. The following adverse reactions have been reported for immediate release metoprolol tartrate. Central Nervous System: Tiredness and dizziness have occurred in about 10 of 100 patients. Depression has been reported in about 5 of 100 patients. Mild confusion and short-term memory loss have been reported. Headaches, somnolence, nightmares, and insomnia have also been reported. Cardiovascular: Shortness of breath and bradycardia have occurred in approximately 3 of 100 patients. Cold extremities, arterial insufficiency, usually of the Raynaud type; palpitations; congestive heart failure; peripheral edema; syncope; chest pain; and hypertension have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. (see CONTRAINDICATIONS, WARNINGS, and PRECAUTIONS). Respiratory: Wheezing (bronchospasm) and dyspnea have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. **WARNINGS:** Gastrointestinal: Diarrhea has occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Nausea, dry mouth, gastric pain, constipation, flatulence, digestive tract disorders, and heartburn have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. Hypertensive Reactions: Phurals or rashes have occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Worsening of priapism has also been reported. Musculoskeletal: Pyriminism has been reported in less than 1% of patients. Arthralgia, myalgia, and muscle pain have been reported in about 1% of patients. There have been rare reports of reversible alopecia, agranulocytosis, and dry eye. Discontinuation of the drug should be considered if any such reaction is not otherwise explicable. The oculomucocutaneous syndrome associated with the beta-blockers has been reported with metoprolol. **Potential Adverse Reactions:** In addition, there are a variety of adverse reactions that have been reported with TOPROL-XL after beta-adrenergic blocking agents and are considered potential adverse reactions not reported with TOPROL-XL. Central Nervous System: Reversible mental depression progressing to cataplexy; a rare reversible syndrome characterized by disorientation for time and place, short-term memory loss, emotional lability, slightly cludged sensorium, and decreased performance on neurophysiologic tests. Cardiovascular: Intermittent of AV block (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). Hypertensive: Agranulocytosis, thrombocytopenia, purpura, thrombocytopenic purpura, leukopenia, neutropenia, and aplastic anemia. Respiratory: Severe asthma, laryngospasm, and respiratory distress. **Heart Failure:** In the MERIT-HF trial, serious adverse events and adverse events leading to discontinuation of study medication were systematically collected in the MERIT-HF study comparing TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) to placebo (N=1993). In the MERIT-HF study, the following adverse events were reported in patients receiving TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) compared to placebo (N=1993): In the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

**ADVERSE REACTIONS:** Depression and Anxiety: Adverse effects have been mild and transient. The following adverse reactions have been reported for immediate release metoprolol tartrate. Central Nervous System: Tiredness and dizziness have occurred in about 10 of 100 patients. Depression has been reported in about 5 of 100 patients. Mild confusion and short-term memory loss have been reported. Headaches, somnolence, nightmares, and insomnia have also been reported. Cardiovascular: Shortness of breath and bradycardia have occurred in approximately 3 of 100 patients. Cold extremities, arterial insufficiency, usually of the Raynaud type; palpitations; congestive heart failure; peripheral edema; syncope; chest pain; and hypertension have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. (see CONTRAINDICATIONS, WARNINGS, and PRECAUTIONS). Respiratory: Wheezing (bronchospasm) and dyspnea have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. **WARNINGS:** Gastrointestinal: Diarrhea has occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Nausea, dry mouth, gastric pain, constipation, flatulence, digestive tract disorders, and heartburn have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. Hypertensive Reactions: Phurals or rashes have occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Worsening of priapism has also been reported. Musculoskeletal: Pyriminism has been reported in less than 1% of patients. Arthralgia, myalgia, and muscle pain have been reported in about 1% of patients. There have been rare reports of reversible alopecia, agranulocytosis, and dry eye. Discontinuation of the drug should be considered if any such reaction is not otherwise explicable. The oculomucocutaneous syndrome associated with the beta-blockers has been reported with metoprolol. **Potential Adverse Reactions:** In addition, there are a variety of adverse reactions that have been reported with TOPROL-XL after beta-adrenergic blocking agents and are considered potential adverse reactions not reported with TOPROL-XL. Central Nervous System: Reversible mental depression progressing to cataplexy; a rare reversible syndrome characterized by disorientation for time and place, short-term memory loss, emotional lability, slightly cludged sensorium, and decreased performance on neurophysiologic tests. Cardiovascular: Intermittent of AV block (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). Hypertensive: Agranulocytosis, thrombocytopenia, purpura, thrombocytopenic purpura, leukopenia, neutropenia, and aplastic anemia. Respiratory: Severe asthma, laryngospasm, and respiratory distress. **Heart Failure:** In the MERIT-HF trial, serious adverse events and adverse events leading to discontinuation of study medication were systematically collected in the MERIT-HF study comparing TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) to placebo (N=1993). In the MERIT-HF study, the following adverse events were reported in patients receiving TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) compared to placebo (N=1993): In the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

**ADVERSE REACTIONS:** Depression and Anxiety: Adverse effects have been mild and transient. The following adverse reactions have been reported for immediate release metoprolol tartrate. Central Nervous System: Tiredness and dizziness have occurred in about 10 of 100 patients. Depression has been reported in about 5 of 100 patients. Mild confusion and short-term memory loss have been reported. Headaches, somnolence, nightmares, and insomnia have also been reported. Cardiovascular: Shortness of breath and bradycardia have occurred in approximately 3 of 100 patients. Cold extremities, arterial insufficiency, usually of the Raynaud type; palpitations; congestive heart failure; peripheral edema; syncope; chest pain; and hypertension have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. (see CONTRAINDICATIONS, WARNINGS, and PRECAUTIONS). Respiratory: Wheezing (bronchospasm) and dyspnea have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. **WARNINGS:** Gastrointestinal: Diarrhea has occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Nausea, dry mouth, gastric pain, constipation, flatulence, digestive tract disorders, and heartburn have been reported in about 1 of 100 patients. Hypertensive Reactions: Phurals or rashes have occurred in about 5 of 100 patients. Worsening of priapism has also been reported. Musculoskeletal: Pyriminism has been reported in less than 1% of patients. Arthralgia, myalgia, and muscle pain have been reported in about 1% of patients. There have been rare reports of reversible alopecia, agranulocytosis, and dry eye. Discontinuation of the drug should be considered if any such reaction is not otherwise explicable. The oculomucocutaneous syndrome associated with the beta-blockers has been reported with metoprolol. **Potential Adverse Reactions:** In addition, there are a variety of adverse reactions that have been reported with TOPROL-XL after beta-adrenergic blocking agents and are considered potential adverse reactions not reported with TOPROL-XL. Central Nervous System: Reversible mental depression progressing to cataplexy; a rare reversible syndrome characterized by disorientation for time and place, short-term memory loss, emotional lability, slightly cludged sensorium, and decreased performance on neurophysiologic tests. Cardiovascular: Intermittent of AV block (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). Hypertensive: Agranulocytosis, thrombocytopenia, purpura, thrombocytopenic purpura, leukopenia, neutropenia, and aplastic anemia. Respiratory: Severe asthma, laryngospasm, and respiratory distress. **Heart Failure:** In the MERIT-HF trial, serious adverse events and adverse events leading to discontinuation of study medication were systematically collected in the MERIT-HF study comparing TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) to placebo (N=1993). In the MERIT-HF study, the following adverse events were reported in patients receiving TOPROL-XL at daily doses up to 200 mg (mean daily dose 159 mg once-daily) (N=1993) compared to placebo (N=1993): In the MERIT-HF study that occurred at an incidence of equal to or greater than 1% in the TOPROL-XL group and greater than placebo by more than 0.5%, regardless of the assessment of causality.

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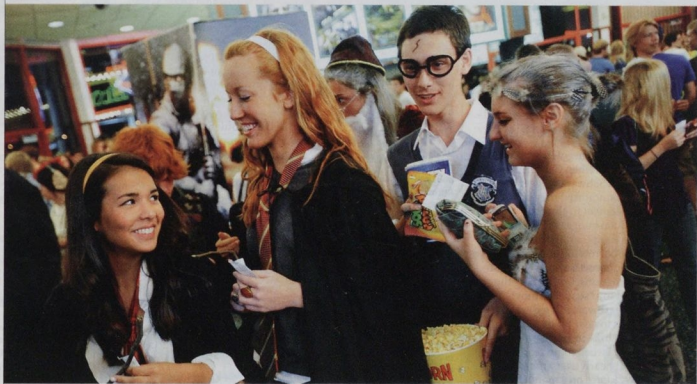
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**ADVERSE REACTIONS:** Depression and Anxiety: Adverse effects have been mild and transient. The following adverse reactions have been reported for immediate release metoprolol tartrate. Central Nervous System: Tiredness and dizziness have occurred in about 10 of 100 patients. Depression has been reported in about 5 of 1



# Briefing

THE WORLD SPOTLIGHT VERBATIM HISTORY MILESTONES



## The Moment

7/14/09: Peoria, Ill.

WELL BEFORE THE 1 O'CLOCK matinee of *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* on a Wednesday, the 30-something woman driving the pink Vespa scooter with the license plate **TOKS** had pulled into the parking lot in Missoula, Mont., and headed inside to get a good seat. If you understood the reference, then you won't be surprised that even in a recession that has been very kind to Hollywood generally—ticket sales are up 12% this year—the recep-

tion of the sixth installment of the boy wizard's story has been spellbinding. The film raked in almost \$400 million worldwide in its first five days, breaking an industry record set in 2007 by *Spider-Man 3* and bringing the franchise total close to \$5 billion.

Which is just one more reminder that there is no Harry Potter Generation—there are many: the 40-somethings, including the President of the United States, who read the books to their children;

the 20-somethings whose professors used the case of the Hogwarts House Elves to explicate contract law; the teenagers like those who flocked to a midnight showing in Illinois (above), who were just learning to read when the

**Harry Potter is now a multigenerational, multibillion-dollar magic kingdom**

first novels appeared and who can now drive themselves to the theater wearing witches' hats and wizards' robes. And then there's the new generation of fans who, rather than having to wait years to find out what happens next, can

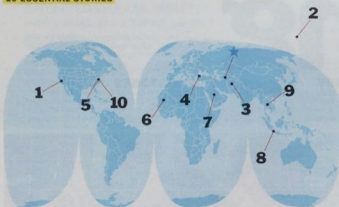
lock themselves in their rooms for magical marathons and read all 4,100 pages at once or host their own Wizard Film Festival.

The boxed set of the first six books has spent 883 days among Amazon's top 100 kids' books. But the audience never seems to outgrow their appeal, and the movies give otherwise mature and sensible Muggles the chance to fall under J.K. Rowling's spell one more time. The final book, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, will be made into two movies, with the last due in July 2011. After that, it will be up to fans to find their own excuses for making a summer night feel magical.

—BY NANCY GIBBS

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



## 1 | California

### At Long Last, a Budget Deal

Weeks of deadlocked negotiations came to an end on July 20 when California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and legislators announced they had reached an agreement to close the state's \$26.3 billion budget shortfall. The deal employs a combination of shifted funds, massive borrowing and more than \$15.5 billion worth of cuts to major government programs. Comparing the budget sessions to a "suspense movie," Schwarzenegger thwarted a request by state Democrats to raise taxes and said the \$12.9 billion hike in February was enough. Having issued some \$680 million in IOUs and put nearly every member of the state workforce on a mandatory three-days-a-month furlough program, California plans to save an additional \$1.2 billion by deferring employee paychecks until the next fiscal year.

California's estimated budget cuts



## 2 | Jupiter

### Cosmic Crash

While peering through his backyard telescope, Anthony Wesley, a 44-year-old amateur astronomer, spied a massive black spot on Jupiter's surface. The Australian quickly e-mailed NASA, and scientists manning an infrared telescope in Mauna Kea, Hawaii, confirmed his hunch: a fast-moving object—possibly a comet—had apparently smashed into the solar system's largest planet, leaving a nearly Earth-size "scar" in its atmosphere. The collision came almost exactly 15 years after a comet last hit Jupiter.



## 3 | Afghanistan

### A Dispatch from Captivity

"I am scared—scared I won't be able to go home," said Private First Class Bowe Bergdahl, 23, of Hailey, Idaho, in a 28-minute video newly released by Taliban. Believed to be the first U.S. service member captured in Afghanistan since 2001, Bergdahl had last been seen on June 30 while leaving his base in the turbulent region of Paktika, near the border with Pakistan. U.S. officials denounced the tape, posted in part on YouTube, as "propaganda" that violates international law.



Police officers stand guard as demonstrators gather to protest the start of the trial on July 20

## 4 | Istanbul

### Turkey's Coup Trial: The Sequel

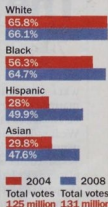
Fifty-six people, including two retired generals, went on trial in Turkey's second case against a clandestine group accused of plotting to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Recep Erdogan. The case highlights a growing divide between his Islamic AK party and the secular military, which has staged coups in the past. The first trial of 86 suspected members of the group, known as Ergenekon, began last October. Both cases could drag on for months or even years.

## 5 | Washington

### An Election of Firsts

Yes, we all know why the 2008 U.S. presidential election was a historic racial milestone. But according to new data released by the U.S. Census Bureau, the contest also virtually eliminated the long-standing gap in participation rates between black and white voters. For the first time, younger blacks voted in greater proportion than their white peers, and black women voted at a higher rate than any other demographic. Overall, though, the number of ballots cast rose only modestly from 2004, as gains in minority voting were offset by stagnant or declining turnout among other groups.

Voter turnout, 2004 and 2008



Numbers:

52

Average number of British pubs that closed each week in the first half of 2009

\$294,000

Projected annual revenue increase for Oakland, Calif., after the city passed a tax on medical marijuana



## 6 | Mauritania

**SECOND TIME'S A CHARM** Less than a year after he overthrew Mauritania's first democratically elected President in a coup d'état, former general Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz legitimized his rule with a landslide win in the northern African country's July 18 presidential election. Though opposition candidates rejected the poll as an "electoral coup," international observers maintain that the result appears to be legitimate. The election's peaceful conclusion opens doors for the reintroduction of international aid, much of which was cut off in protest after the 2008 takeover.

## 7 | Saudi Arabia

### Allegations of Abuse

Human-rights group Amnesty International has criticized Saudi Arabia for counter-terrorism policies that, the group says, rely heavily on secret arrests, torture and unfair trials—under which some 3,000 suspects remain detained. Amnesty representative Malcolm Smart said the abuses have been allowed to take place behind a "wall of secrecy" in part because of the West's dependence on Saudi oil.



The attacks, Indonesia's first in four years, killed nine people and injured more than 50

## 8 | Jakarta

### Terrorism Returns

Indonesian authorities suspect that the July 17 suicide bombings of two Jakarta luxury hotels were the work of the terrorist group Jemaah Islamiyah, which was responsible for the 2002 Bali attacks that killed 202 people. The blasts were condemned by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who had kept the group at bay for four years after taking office and was re-elected just nine days earlier.

## 9 | Thailand

### A Troubling Alliance

Burma's growing ties to North Korea were a hot topic at an ASEAN security forum in Phuket, where U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton warned that such cooperation poses a "direct threat to Burma's neighbors." Some security experts worry that Pyongyang may be assisting the ruling junta with its ambition to acquire nuclear weapons.

## 10 | Washington

### RIP, F-22?

In a 58-40 split, the U.S. Senate voted July 21 to scrap orders for seven F-22 fighter jets from a \$679.8 billion military-spending bill, ending a standoff between lawmakers who defended the \$1.75 billion project (which does not include R&D costs) as a way to create as many as 25,000 jobs and those who derided the combat plane as a relic of the Cold War. President Barack Obama, who threatened to veto the entire bill if the F-22 plans weren't eliminated, hailed the decision as a major victory for Defense Secretary Robert Gates in his effort to curb spending on outdated weapons systems.



AT STAKE

\$350 MILLION EACH

### THE VOTE

#### KILL PROGRAM

McCain (R., Ariz.)  
Levin (D., Mich.)



#### KEEP PROGRAM

Chambliss (R., Ga.)  
Dodd (D., Conn.)



## ★ | What They're Building in Turkmenistan:

In a move that has raised environmentalists' eyebrows, this Central Asian nation has begun channelling water to a 770-sq.-mi. man-made lake in the middle of the vast Karakum Desert. Turkmen leaders say the lake will help plant life bloom and attract migratory birds, but experts argue that much of the water will simply evaporate and that the multibillion-dollar project could cause an ecological catastrophe.

6 MIN., 39 SEC.

Length of a total eclipse on July 22 that blanketed parts of Asia in darkness; another eclipse of that length isn't expected until 2132

22,000

Number of troops who will be temporarily added to the U.S. Army's ranks over the next three years to boost short-staffed units



# Spotlight

## The Rio Tinto Scandal



### Heating up

Rio Tinto, based in Melbourne and London, is the world's second largest iron-ore exporter

### Precious metal

Iron ore is now more than \$90 per metric ton, its highest price since October 2008



IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY, WITH ANY OTHER company, at any other time, it might be considered a routine case of corporate espionage. But the arrests earlier this month of four employees of the mining giant Rio Tinto have thrown relations between China and Australia into an uproar and cast a dangerous chill on China's foreign business partners. On July 5, the Shanghai State Security Bureau arrested Rio Tinto executive Stern Hu, a Chinese-born Australian, and three Chinese employees on suspicion of stealing state secrets. While China's murky criminal-justice system makes it difficult to unearth any specifics of the charges, the state-run *China Daily* reported on July 15 that the Rio Tinto representatives allegedly bribed officials from 16 Chinese steel mills during negotiations over iron-ore prices. Chinese media also reported that at least five Chinese steelmakers and the China Iron & Steel Association are also under investigation. Rio Tinto has denied any wrongdoing by its employees.

China's wide-ranging state-secrets law has been used to prosecute economic crimes before, but usually in cases involving people seen as threats to the ruling Communist Party. Turning it on China's foreign partners, Western observers say, could undermine global commerce. Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, who has made a point of burnishing his country's links to China, said the detention of Hu jeopardizes China's trade relations with his nation and the rest of the world.

The stakes are high on both sides. Given the importance that Beijing places on China's economic development, commodity-price data could be considered vital and sensitive information, says Joshua Rosenzweig, Hong Kong-based manager for the Dui Hua Foundation, a human-rights group.



### Executive Detention

Rio Tinto's Stern Hu was arrested for espionage along with three other employees

China's annual steel production (in thousands of metric tons) has soared

1990  
66,349

2008  
500,488

"The success of China's economy is tied up with the legitimacy of the government in a very big way," he notes. Foreign mining companies—very much including Australian ones—have profited greatly by feeding China's ravenous appetite for raw materials. But recently, wild fluctuations in commodity prices and friction over trade deals have increased tension between overseas iron-ore suppliers and China's steel producers. The arrests came weeks after the collapse of a bid by state-owned aluminum company Chinalco to invest \$19.5 billion in Rio Tinto; the timing has prompted some observers to suggest that the charges are retaliatory.

Meanwhile, negotiations over iron-ore contracts, an annual ritual that has been particularly heated this year, may be another factor. Chinese steel producers have been pushing for a discount of up to 50% on the price agreed on last year with Rio Tinto. But with the negotiations stretching long past their original June 30 deadline, steadily climbing prices for iron ore have steelmakers sweating. "Clearly the Chinese insistence that the price be cut further no longer can be sustained," says Jim Lennon, a Macquarie Bank analyst, who notes that talks "have gotten increasingly acrimonious."

Whatever the cause, the case against Hu and his colleagues remains serious, although Australia's Foreign Minister noted on July 20 that the four could conceivably be spared the espionage charges and tried for lesser criminal misconduct—which would go a long way toward smoothing the waters. Healing the wider mistrust between China and its trading partners will be harder.

—BY AUSTIN RAMZY/BEIJING





For daily sound bites,  
visit [time.com/quotes](http://time.com/quotes)

# Verbatim

**'Why? Because I'm a black man in America?'**

**HENRY LOUIS GATES JR.**, Harvard University professor, accusing a police officer of racism during a robbery investigation; Gates was trying to pry open the front door of his home in Cambridge, Mass., when an onlooker called 911

**'If anybody is worried that I am trying to escape death by hanging, I'm not.'**

**MOHAMMAD AMIR AJMAL QASAB**, the lone surviving gunman in the Mumbai terrorist attacks that killed more than 170 people in November; he changed his plea to guilty on July 20

**'It's all blah, blah, blah.'**

**LEVAN GACHECHILADZE**, Georgia's opposition leader, arguing that President Mikheil Saakashvili's recent pledges—that Georgia would join NATO and the E.U. and reunify with the breakaway regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia—were empty promises

**'We didn't sleep a wink.'**

**PATRIZIA D'ADDARIO**, former actress and escort, bragging during a recorded phone call about her alleged night with Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi

**'If we're able to stop Obama on this, it will be his Waterloo. It will break him.'**

**JIM DEMINT**, Republican Senator, on the effort to defeat President Barack Obama's bid to overhaul the nation's health-care system

**'It would have been a hell of a story, wouldn't it?'**

**TOM WATSON**, five-time British Open champion, after losing the Open playoff to Stewart Cink; Watson, 59, would have been the oldest major champion in the sport's history

**'We completely understand the public's concern about futuristic robots feeding on the human population, but that is not our mission.'**

**HARRY SCHOELL**, CEO of Cyclone Power Technologies, attempting to dispel fears regarding the company's plans to produce steam-powered, biomass-eating robots commissioned by the Pentagon



## BACK & FORTH

### Iran

**'Everything in our Islamic republic is based on votes. Without the people's vote, things cannot go on.'**

**ALI AKBAR HASHEMI RAFSANJANI**, former Iranian President, saying the government must address lingering doubts about the legitimacy of June's presidential election

**'Anybody who drives the society toward insecurity and disorder is a hated person in the view of the Iranian nation, whoever he is.'**

**AYATULLAH ALI KHAMENEI**, Iranian Supreme Leader, warning that dissent could trigger the nation's "collapse"

### Climate Change

**'There is simply no case for the pressure that we, who have been among the lowest emitters per capita, face to actually reduce emissions.'**

**JAIRAM RAMESH**, Indian Environment Minister, accusing the U.S. of making unreasonable demands

**'The United States does not, and will not, do anything that would limit India's economic progress.'**

**HILLARY CLINTON**, U.S. Secretary of State, downplaying the dispute during her four-day visit to India

## LEXICON

**Madoff bill n.** Legislation named after ex-finance **Bernie Madoff** that aims to boost prison budgets

**USAGE:** "For anyone who believes crime doesn't pay, tell that to the New York state legislator who introduced a 'Madoff' bill ... Rich New Yorkers convicted of crimes would be forced—if his bill becomes law—to pay the state and federal governments for how much it costs to keep them in jail."

—REUTERS, JULY 20, 2009

# Brief History

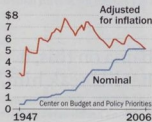
## The Minimum Wage



**W**ITH THE U.S. TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN THE HOLE, 70¢ an hour sounds like chump change. But it's a big boost for the millions of workers who earn that much extra as of July 24. The increase is the third and final uptick in a hike that has since 2007 boosted the federal minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$7.25. In total, the extra \$2 and change translates into a yearly raise of some \$4,400 for a full-time minimum-wage worker, nosing his or her family of four above the poverty line.

The minimum wage was first instituted in Australia and New Zealand in the 1890s in response to frequent, bitter strikes and was adopted by Massachusetts in 1912 to cover women and children. The first federal minimum-wage law passed in 1938, with a 25¢-per-hour wage floor and a 44-hour workweek ceiling for most employees, as a bulwark against the Great Depression. Wages must ensure a "minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency and general well-being," the act stipulated, "without substantially curtailing employment."

Ever since, however, critics and supporters have slugged it out over the minimum wage: some say it destroys jobs, while others argue that it increases productivity and boosts consumer purchasing power. As a result, in real-dollar terms, the minimum wage has risen and fallen on political tides, peaking in 1968 when an hour's pay bought nearly 5 gal. (19 L) of gas. By 2006, it paid for less than 2 gal. (8 L); meanwhile, some states raised their own standards (Washington mandates \$8.55 an hour). From 1973 to 2007, as the minimum wage fell 22% in real dollars, domestic corporate profits jumped more than 50%—bloating the gap between rich and poor and fueling calls for a \$10-an-hour "living wage" by 2010. For now, though, an extra 70¢ is as good as it gets. —BY LAURA FITZPATRICK



**Purchasing power** The minimum wage reached its peak, adjusted for inflation, in 1968

### A DAY'S WORK, A DAY'S PAY

**1923** The U.S. Supreme Court strikes down a Washington, D.C., minimum-wage law, arguing that it violates individuals' freedom to set the price at which they will sell their labor

**1938** The Fair Labor Standards Act establishes a national minimum wage, guarantees overtime pay for some jobs and bans child labor

**1963** The Equal Pay Act makes it illegal to pay workers lower wages based on gender

**2007** Congress enacts the first minimum-wage hike in 10 years

### THE SKIMMER



#### The Wilderness Warrior: Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America

By Douglas Brinkley  
Harper; 940 pages

IT IS A TESTAMENT TO THE unparalleled hugeness of his life that a nearly thousand-page biography of Theodore Roosevelt is still capable of breaking new ground. Teddy as trust buster, canal builder, militarist and big-stick carrier is familiar enough. Less well known are his epic efforts, detailed here by historian Douglas Brinkley, as a conservationist-preservationist. By the end of his second presidential term, Roosevelt had "set aside more than 234 million acres of America for posterity." Half the size of the Louisiana Purchase, these federally protected lands included national monuments and parks such as the Grand Canyon, Crater Lake, Mesa Verde, Devils Tower and scores of national forests, bird reservations and game preserves. Eschewing the familiar biographical notes (the Panama Canal rates barely a passing mention), Brinkley shows us how T.R.'s youthful obsession with birds, hunting and Darwinian science joined forces with his unique form of masculine patriotism to result in a very "rare instance of constructive hyper-Americanism."

—BY GILBERT CRUZ

READ

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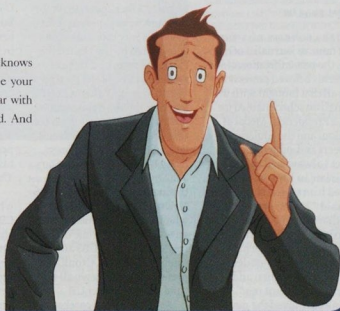
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1916-2009

# Walter Cronkite



## The most trusted man in America

BY TOM BROKAW

WALTER CRONKITE WAS THE most famous journalist of his time, the personification of success in his beloved profession, with all that brought with it: a journalism school named for him, a Presidential Medal of Freedom and the adulation of his peers and audience.

Yet I always had the feeling that if late in life someone had tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Walter, we're a little short-handed this week. Think you could help us on the police beat for a few mornings?" he would have responded, "Boy, oh, boy—when and where do you want me?"

Cronkite loved the news business, plain not fancy. He

began as a teenage stringer for Houston newspapers and then made his way into radio before being hired by the United Press, the spunky cousin of the Associated Press. During World War II, Walter was UP's man in London, a colleague of the legendary Homer Bigart of the New York *Herald Tribune*, later of the New York *Times*; Andy Rooney, then with *Stars and Stripes*; and Ed Murrow, the incomparable voice of CBS News. Murrow was stunned when Cronkite turned down an offer to become one of Murrow's Boys, as the CBS all-star lineup was called. Cronkite preferred the all-news-all-the-time sensibilities of UP.

At UP, he joined combat missions on B-17s, covered

D-day and the Battle of the Bulge, reported on the Nuremberg trials and was stationed in Moscow at the beginning of the Cold War. When Murrow finally lured him to CBS, Cronkite became a man for all seasons, anchoring political coverage, briefly hosting CBS's *The Morning Show* (with a puppet, no less), giving America history lessons with *You Are There* and *The Twentieth Century*.

Hard to believe now, but when Cronkite took over the CBS *Evening News*, he was the challenger, not the champion. The stylish *Huntley-Brinkley Report* was the dominant broadcast in what was still a new phenomenon: the idea that at the end of the day every one with a television set could

hear and see what had happened that day.

As an impressionable teenager in the heartland, I was transported to events in ways I could not have imagined, and it was then that I began to think, Maybe one day I can be a part of all that. Now, looking back, I am eternally grateful to the men (and they were all men) who produced the broadcasts for Huntley, Brinkley and Cronkite. They persuaded their entertainment-oriented bosses that network television was a powerful force in journalism that was not to be underestimated.

Never was that truer than on a fateful Friday in November 1963, when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. The image of a shirt-sleeved Walter Cronkite trying to control his emotions as he broke the news of the young President's death was an iconic and seminal moment in elevating broadcast news to a new level.

We almost never saw our national anchors in shirt-sleeves showing any kind of personal emotion. In retrospect, Cronkite's demeanor was restrained and appropriate, a reminder to the audience and young journalists that this was a business of the heart as well as the mind.

The larger lesson of that day was that everyone in this vast land had instant, common access to the same information on events large and small. And there was no shortage of large ones: Vietnam, the civil rights movement, assassinations, the counterculture, space shots, Watergate.

Through it all, Walter Cronkite became the enduring face of network news as the authoritative yet approachable figure in the newsroom. As managing editor, Cronkite was old school: Give

CRONKITE: PHOTO: FRANK SLORE; PHOTOS: MICHAEL E. WHITE; CRONKITE: LUTHER BROWN; CRONKITE: LUTHER BROWN; CRONKITE: LUTHER BROWN



# Milestones

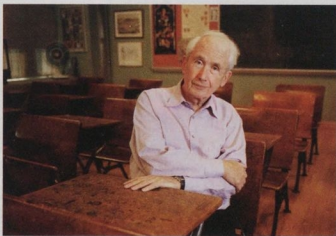
me the news, especially the news from the nation's capital. As a student of the form, I marveled at Cronkite's consistency. Night after night, the news might change, but Uncle Walter could be found at the head of the table. When he did break from his objective cadence, it was not trivial: there was his famous commentary on Vietnam and, later that year, his personal remarks from the anchor booth on the rough tactics of the security guards at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

When I was taking over *Nightly News*, some mutual friends had a small dinner, and Cronkite rose to offer some advice. "There will be nights," he said, "when you think you've done a brilliant job on a big story. You'll leave the studio with the echoes of praise from your colleagues ringing in your ears. And once outside in New York, you'll realize there are millions of people in this city alone who didn't watch and who don't give a damn what you just did."

That was a line I remembered at the end of many days. To those of us of a younger generation, Cronkite was never paternalistic. He didn't like many of the changes in network news, but he was always generous. In the end, what endeared him to so many was that he always seemed like a man you were as likely to find walking down Main Street as knocking back drinks at Toots Shor's or manning his yacht, asking all around him, "What's the latest news?"

If I told him this week, "Walter Cronkite died," he'd laugh and say, "Walter who? Never heard of him."

*Brokaw, formerly anchor and managing editor for NBC Nightly News, is now a special correspondent for NBC*



## Frank McCourt

**DIED** For most of his life, Frank McCourt was a teacher. But it is as the author of the wildly successful memoir *Angela's Ashes*, which recounted his childhood in Limerick, Ireland, that he will be remembered.

McCourt, who died of meningitis July 19 at 78, was the first of seven children their mother Angela cared for indomitably. His

alcoholic father abandoned the family, which became so poor that three siblings died of disease or malnutrition. "In reality, our life was worse than Frank wrote," said McCourt's brother Malachy. Frank once said that as a child he dreamed of being a prison inmate for the food and warmth.

After serving in the U.S. Army, he earned a degree with the help of the GI Bill

and spent most of the next 30 years teaching English and creative writing in New York City schools. Though his talent for storytelling kept him alive in the classroom, for many years he tried and failed to write about his childhood. Finally, while babysitting his granddaughter, he had the idea of writing like a child: detached, simple, in the present tense. "Children are almost dead in their detachment from the world," he said. "They tell the truth, and somehow that lodged in my subconscious when I started writing the book."

The result was *Angela's Ashes*, which appeared in 1996. The book told the story of his early years in a voice purged of anger and bitterness and self-pity. In an extraordinary act of forgiveness, he wrote about his father with humor and even compassion. It became first a critical sensation, then a runaway best seller. In 1997 it won the Pulitzer Prize. "I wrote a book about growing up miserable, and the next thing I know I'm here," he said. "It's absurd, isn't it?"

—BY LEV GROSSMAN



## Natalya Estemirova

**DIED** The fight for human rights in Russia suffered another devastating blow on July 15, when Natalya Estemirova, Chechnya's most outspoken human-rights activist, was murdered just hours after being kidnapped from outside her home in Grozny, the capital of the troubled republic.

A researcher for the highly respected Russian human-rights

organization Memorial, Estemirova, 50, had recently contributed to a Human Rights Watch report that accused the Chechen government of burning more than two dozen homes in punitive attacks against the families of suspected rebels. She also exposed the public execution of a young suspected separatist by a Chechen security officer. "She was fearless, and boldly defended the truth," Shamkhan Akbulatov, head of Memorial in Chechnya, told a

Russian news agency. On the day of her murder, Russian human-rights groups released a report, which she had helped research, that exhaustively documented atrocities committed by all sides during the two Chechen wars.

But Estemirova's determined efforts over the past decade to uncover killings, torture, disappearances and kidnappings made her powerful enemies, including Chechen strongman Ramzan Kadyrov, the republic's Kremlin-backed President. (Kadyrov released a statement calling Estemirova's killing "monstrous.") She was well aware that her work jeopardized her safety. "In Chechnya, the government creates an atmosphere of fear and mistrust," Estemirova said in 2007 as she accepted a human-rights award. "Those who witness abuse keep silent, for if they speak, they can soon become a victim." By silencing this woman who spoke, her killers have victimized everyone. —BY JOHN WENDLE

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Joe

# Klein

## Who's Afraid of Iran? Obama should keep pressuring Tehran on its nuclear program. But he shouldn't obsess about it

"WE ALL HAVE BEEN HARMED. TODAY more than ever we need unity," said former Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani during Friday prayers at Tehran University on July 17. It was a crucial sermon and, in the manner of many things Persian, purposefully and delicately opaque. Some thought Rafsanjani's speech was a direct threat to the Ahmadi-Khamenei regime. He demanded the release of political prisoners, an end to violence against protesters, the restoration of Iran's (intermittently) free press. Others thought Rafsanjani, speaking with the approval of the Supreme Leader, was trying to build a bridge between the opposition and the regime. For me, it brought back memories of a less opaque Friday-prayers sermon I'd actually seen Rafsanjani deliver in December 2001, in which he spoke of the need for an "Islamic bomb."

The signature foreign policy initiative of Barack Obama's presidential campaign was his desire to begin negotiations with Iran. It was ridiculed by John McCain and by Hillary Clinton, now his Secretary of State. Obama persisted, with reason: it was a good idea. How he proceeds now, after Iran's brutal electoral debacle, could be the most important foreign policy decision of his presidency. As Clinton made clear in a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations two days before Rafsanjani spoke, the Obama Administration has not wavered in its desire for talks. And yet, the body language has changed.

Before the June election, Administration officials spoke of pursuing "comprehensive" talks. They believed the Iranians would discuss their nuclear program only in the context of talks that established

Iran as a major player, and necessary interlocutor, on regional issues like Afghanistan and Iraq. There were possible areas for cooperation, especially in Afghanistan. The Iranians showed little appetite for such talks, but it was assumed that an opening would come after the election (although even the Iranian reformers I spoke with were demanding U.S. concessions in advance of negotiations).

Of course, the idea of making any sort



of introductory concession seems quite impossible now. In fact, you don't hear Administration officials talking about "comprehensive" negotiations anymore. The focus is almost solely on the nuclear issue. "We face a real-time challenge on nuclear proliferation in Iran," the President said at the G-8 summit. "And we're deeply troubled by the proliferation risks Iran's nuclear program poses to the world." Obama offered a "path" to peace for Iran via the ongoing Geneva negotiations, which seemed a more restrictive corridor than comprehensive talks. He set a September deadline for an Iranian response, after which there would be a renewed push for economic sanctions—which was pretty much where George W. Bush left things.

This emphasis on the nuclear issue is disproportionate. Iran is allowed to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Treaty. The latest National Intelligence Estimate suggests that Iran doesn't have a nuclear-weapons program—although it once did, and could easily resume weaponization at any time. But let's assume the worst: say Iran is working on a bomb; say it acquires one in the next few years. Only Benjamin Netanyahu and assorted American neoconservatives believe—or pretend to believe—that Iran might actually use it, given Israel's overpowering ability to strike back. Most observers think that the Iranians would hold their weapon as a deterrent—even Rafsanjani, in his "Islamic bomb" speech, posited that the weapon would create a regional "stalemate." To be sure, an Iranian bomb would not be a good thing. It might launch a Middle Eastern arms race among Iran's Sunni rivals in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. But it would not be cataclysmic, either—unless Obama decided to pre-empt it militarily. In any case, the question is, Does the President really want to paint himself into this corner? Does he want to face the possibility of going to war or, more likely, retreating from his insistence on a bomb-free Iran?

**A wiser alternative may be to stand down, for a while. "Turn away and whistle," an Iranian academic suggested recently. Don't abandon**

the nuclear-sanctions process, but don't force it, either. Don't pursue negotiations. Let the disgraced Iranian government pursue us, as it might, in order to rebuild credibility at home and in the world—and then make sure the regime's interest isn't just for show. After all, Iran isn't the most frightening nuclear challenge we're facing. That would be the next country over, Pakistan. In the latest *National Interest*, Bruce Riedel—who led the Obama Administration's Afghanistan and Pakistan policy review—suggests that a coup led by Islamist, Taliban-sympathetic elements of the Pakistani army remains a real possibility. Pakistan has at least 60 nuclear weapons. The chance that al-Qaeda sympathizers might gain access to those weapons is the real issue in Afghanistan and Pakistan. For the moment, it is far more important than anything happening in Iran.

**Let's assume the worst. An Iranian bomb would not be a good thing. But it wouldn't be cataclysmic, either**



SPECIAL REPORT

# The Final Days

A TIME investigation reveals the dispute that split George W. Bush and Dick Cheney as they left the White House—and shows why the struggle over their legacy is just beginning

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI AND MICHAEL WEISSKOPF







**To the bitter end**  
Bush and Cheney,  
here in October 2001,  
planned the war  
on terrorism but  
broke over whether  
to pardon one of its  
key architects

**H**OURS BEFORE THEY WERE TO leave office after eight troubled years, George W. Bush and Richard B. Cheney had one final and painful piece of business to conclude. For over a month Cheney had been pleading, cajoling, even pestering Bush to pardon the Vice President's former chief of staff, I. Lewis (Scooter) Libby. Libby had been convicted nearly two years earlier of obstructing an investigation into the leak of a covert CIA officer's identity by senior White House officials. The Libby pardon, aides reported, had become something of a crusade for Cheney, who seemed prepared to push his nine-year-old relationship with Bush to the breaking point—and perhaps past it—over the fate of his former aide. “We don’t want to leave anyone on the battlefield,” Cheney argued.

Bush had already decided the week before that Libby was undeserving and told Cheney so, only to see the question raised again. A top adviser to Bush says he had never seen the Vice President focused so single-mindedly on anything over two terms. And so, on his last full day in office, Jan. 19, 2009, Bush would give Cheney his final decision.

These last hours represent a climactic chapter in the mysterious and mostly opaque relationship at the center of a tumultuous period in American history. It reveals how one question—whether to grant a presidential pardon to a top vice-presidential aide—strained the bonds between Bush and his deputy and closest counselor. It reveals a gap in the two men's views of crime and punishment. And in a broader way, it uncovers a fundamental difference in how the two men regarded the legacy of the Bush years. As a Cheney confidant puts it, the Vice President believed he and the President could claim the war on terrorism as his greatest legacy only if they defended at all costs the men and women who fought in the trenches. When it came to Libby, Bush felt he had done enough.

But the fight over the pardon was also a prelude to the difficult questions about justice and national security inherited by the Obama Administration: How closely should the nation examine the actions of government officials who took steps—legal or possibly illegal—to defend the nation's security during the war on terrorism? The Libby investigation, which began nearly six years ago, went to the heart of whether the



**Cheney believed Bush could claim the war on terrorism as his greatest legacy only if he defended those who fought in the trenches**

Bush Administration misled the public in making its case to invade Iraq. But other Bush-era policies are still coming under legal scrutiny. Who, for example, should be held accountable in one of the darkest corners of the war on terrorism—the interrogators who may have tortured detainees? Or the men who conceived and crafted the policies that led to those secret sessions in the first place? How far back—and how high up the chain of command—should these inquiries go?

As Attorney General Eric Holder weighs whether to name a special prosecutor to probe reports of detainee abuse during the

**At your service**  
*Cheney and Libby in the  
Vice President's office,  
photographed by Annie Leibovitz  
for Vanity Fair in 2002*



Bush era, Democratic lawmakers are trying to determine why Cheney demanded that Congress be kept in the dark about some covert CIA plans after 9/11. There is no guarantee that these and other probes won't at some point require the testimony of the former President and Vice President. While Bush has retired to Texas to write his memoirs and secure his legacy by other means, Cheney is settling in for a long siege in Washington, where he will soon be installed in a conservative think tank and where, Republicans say, he will pull levers on Capitol Hill to make his voice heard. Above all, Cheney will continue to insist

that the Commander in Chief and his lieutenants had almost limitless power in the war on terrorism and deserved a measure of immunity for taking part in that fight. That's a conviction Cheney made clear to all those involved in the Libby affair—including, in his final hours in power, the President himself.

#### **The Commutation Fail-Safe**

THIS LIBBY-PARDON FIGHT—AN ACCOUNT pieced together from dozens of interviews with former officials who agreed to speak only without attribution—began two years earlier, in the federal district

courthouse in Washington. In a case that gripped the capital but often mystified the rest of the country, Cheney's former top aide on domestic and foreign policy stood accused of obstructing a federal investigation into the source of an egregious media leak: the identity of an undercover CIA officer named Valerie Plame. Her husband Joseph Wilson, a former diplomat, had written an Op-Ed for the *New York Times* in July 2003 claiming to have evidence that the Administration had lied to bolster the case for war in Iraq. Within days, in an effort to discredit Wilson's story, a conservative columnist had revealed the identity of Wilson's wife. Plame's "outing" was seen by her husband and his fellow Democrats as an act of revenge orchestrated by Cheney himself—and the most extreme example of how far an Administration would go to cover its tracks in a war gone bad.

Libby maintained his innocence throughout his trial, claiming that any false statements he had made to investigators resulted from bad memory, not deception. But Libby had reason to lie: his job was at stake, and his boss's was on the line too. Bush had declared that anyone involved in leaking Plame's identity would be fired. Cheney had personally assured Bush early on that his aide wasn't involved, even persuading the President to exonerate Libby publicly through a spokesman. Special counsel Patrick Fitzgerald, who prosecuted the case, said Libby's obstruction had prevented investigators from uncovering the truth about Cheney's role. "There is a cloud over the Vice President," Fitzgerald said in his closing arguments. (Matthew Cooper, then a *TIME* correspondent, was a witness in the case against Libby. Cooper had spoken to both Libby and Bush aide Karl Rove in July 2003 about Wilson's relationship to Plame. Time Inc. turned Cooper's notes over to Fitzgerald after fighting the subpoena all the way to the Supreme Court, which declined to hear Time Inc.'s appeal. Rove was not indicted.)

After a seven-week trial, Libby was found guilty on March 6, 2007, of obstructing justice, perjury and lying to investigators. He was sentenced to 30 months in prison and a \$250,000 fine, a precipitous fall for a man known as the Vice President's alter ego and formerly a prestigious lawyer at a premier Washington firm. He fought the verdict, his legal bills paid by a defense fund that raised \$5 million, but a



federal appeals court ruled on July 2, 2007, that Libby had to report to jail.

The White House was prepared for the ruling, in part because after six years in Washington, Bush had finally found himself a White House counsel who was up to the job. Fred Fielding, a genial, white-haired, slightly stooped figure in his late 60s, had cut his teeth as an assistant to John Dean in Richard Nixon's counsel's office and served as Ronald Reagan's top lawyer as well. He had unrivaled experience managing allegations of White House misconduct. He also was one of the few people in Washington who had served in as many Republican Administrations as Cheney had, which meant he had uncommon stature in the West Wing. And he was everything Bush's two previous counsels, Alberto Gonzales and Harriet Miers, hadn't been: strong-willed, independent and fearless. Says an old friend: "Freddy isn't afraid of anyone. He will slit your throat with a razor blade while he is yawning."

Fielding's arrival in early 2007 was one of several signs that the balance of power in the Administration had shifted against the Vice President. Fielding reviewed the Libby case before the appellate verdict came down and recommended against a presidential pardon. Cheney's longtime aide hadn't met the criteria: accepting responsibility for the crime, doing time and demonstrating remorse. "Pardons tend to be for the repentant," says a senior Administration official familiar with the 2007 pardon review, "not for those who think the system was politicized or they were unfairly targeted."

The verdict was one thing. Libby's sentence was another matter. Fielding told Bush that the President had wide discretion to determine its fairness. And within hours of the appeals-court ruling, Bush pronounced the jail time "excessive," commuting Libby's prison term while leaving in place the fine and, most important, the guilty verdict—which meant Libby would probably never practice law again. Fielding's recommendation was widely circulated in the White House before it

## Cheney, always deferential to Bush, often waited with head down and hands clasped behind his back to address the President

was announced, and there is no evidence of disagreement. If Cheney and his allies were disappointed with Bush's decision, they did not show it, several former officials say, in part because they were, as one put it, "so happy that [Scooter] wasn't going to jail."

The response was predictable: conservatives cheered the commutation; liberals deplored it. But among Bush aides, the presidential statement was seen as a fail-safe, a device that would prevent a backtrack later on. Fielding crafted the commutation in a way that would make it harder for Bush to revisit it in the future. Bush not only noted his "respect for the jury verdict" and the prosecutor, he also emphasized the "harsh punishment" Libby still faced, including a "forever damaged" professional reputation and the "long-lasting" consequences of a felony conviction.

And there were these two sentences: "Our entire system of justice relies on people telling the truth," Bush said. "And if a person does not tell the truth, particularly if he serves in government and holds the public trust, he must be held accountable." *Particularly if he serves in government.* Bush's allies would say later that the language was intended to send an unmistakable message, internally as well as externally: No one is above the law.

## The Special Relationship

A FORMER WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF, Congressman and Pentagon boss, Cheney had an uncanny ability to guide Bush's decisions. Even as he claimed expansive Ex-

ecutive powers for the President, Cheney salted the bureaucracy with allies who could alert him in advance about policy disagreements, help him influence internal debates at key moments and give him a leg up in framing issues for the President. He was always deferential to Bush, often waiting with head down and hands clasped behind his back to address the President. Both by habit and by design, he cultivated a relationship that suited Bush's view of their roles: the President as the "decider" and Cheney as the éminence grise who counseled him. In reality, by wiring the bureaucracy and being the last person Bush spoke with on many key decisions, Cheney became a "sounding board for advice he originated himself," as biographer Barton Gellman put it.

Plamegate, as the leak scandal was dubbed, tested the trust between the two men like nothing before. Bush had promised high ethical standards after the Clinton era and a "fresh start after a season of cynicism," a veiled reference to Clinton's troubles with truth-telling under oath in the Monica Lewinsky scandal. In the Plame investigation, a prosecutor with broad authority jarred Bush's White House by issuing deposition orders and demands for documents. Bush himself was interviewed by Fitzgerald on June 24, 2004, as was Cheney some four months later.

The investigation also coincided with the darkest period of the Administration: the Iraq war's dramatic downturn, the absence of WMD and festering problems in Afghanistan. And it unfolded as Bush was launching a wholesale course correction of his presidency in his second term. The pivot was hard to miss. Where Cheney had urged unilateral U.S. action in the first term, "in the second term we're going to be doing more diplomacy," Bush told top aides. Where Cheney had orchestrated a secret push to embrace the "dark side" in the war on terrorism, Bush instructed aides in 2005 to begin to seek congressional approval for some of the Administration's most controversial programs, such as its terrorist-detention policies. At the State Department, Bush

PLAMEGATE: HOW IT UNFOLDED

February  
CIA sends former  
U.S. ambassador  
Joseph Wilson  
to Niger

July 6  
Wilson's Op-Ed  
attacks Bush  
Administration's  
Iraq WMD claim

July 14  
Robert Novak's  
column exposes  
Wilson's wife  
Valerie Plame  
as CIA officer

Sept. 26  
Justice  
Department  
launches  
investigation  
into leak

Sept. 30  
Bush says  
he's unaware  
White House  
had a role

Oct. 14 and  
Nov. 26  
Cheney side  
Scooter Libby  
tells FBI he  
wasn't the leak

March 5  
Libby tells  
grand jury he  
didn't leak

June 24  
Special  
investigator  
Patrick  
Fitzgerald  
interviews Bush  
Nov. 2  
Bush re-elected



**Scooter Libby**

*Blocked by Bolten from appealing to the President, Libby made his case to Fielding the Saturday before the Inauguration*

**Dick Cheney**

*Cheney argued Libby was the victim of a politically motivated prosecution, but that argument ultimately did not persuade Bush*

**The Fight over The Pardon**

Cheney led a final push to get Scooter Libby a presidential pardon, arguing he had been targeted for political reasons. That set up a dramatic confrontation in the final days of the Bush White House

**Josh Bolten**

*Bush's chief of staff assigned the pardon to Fielding and the White House lawyers when Cheney brought the matter up during his final weeks in office*

**Fred Fielding**

*The veteran lawyer had worked for Presidents Nixon and Reagan and concluded that Libby had shown no signs of remorse*

**Valerie Plame**

*Libby discussed her identity with journalists as part of an organized attack on her husband Joseph Wilson*

**Patrick Fitzgerald**

*The prosecutor said Libby had obstructed justice to hide the truth about Cheney's involvement in the leak*

**Jim Sharp**

*Bush's private lawyer, Sharp told the President the weekend before Bush left office that Libby had lied*

**Ed Gillespie**

*Bush's top spin doctor argued that a pardon would be hard to defend since Bush had conceded earlier that Libby had broken the law*

**Tim Russert**

*The late NBC newsmen said he had not told Libby about Plame, undercutting Libby's defense*

-----> Counseled the President on the pardon  
 -----> Lobbied for the pardon

Oct. 26  
Libby is indicted, resigns

March 6  
Libby convicted; later sentenced to 30 months in prison and fined \$250,000

July 2  
Bush commutes Libby's prison term

Nov. 4  
President Obama elected

Jan. 19  
Bush again rejects Cheney's request for Libby's pardon

2006

2007

2008

2009

installed Condoleezza Rice, for whom some Cheney allies had open contempt. As Secretary of State she would spend the next several years trying to repair damaged relations with allies around the globe and opening diplomatic initiatives that Cheney and his team had spent several years shutting down.

Longtime Cheney ally Donald Rumsfeld was eased out as Pentagon chief in late 2006, and Bush replaced him with Robert Gates, a former CIA director and Bush-family ally. Gates was as effective a bureaucratic player as Cheney—and much more of a pragmatist. “Bush was persuaded that the day of the neoconservatives had to be over, because the direction of his presidency had become politically unsustainable,” says a well-informed adviser. “It wasn’t so much a repudiation of Cheney or Cheneyism but a practical judgment that the previous approach simply wasn’t working.”

Cheney fought some of these initiatives all the way, “taking it upon himself,” as a top adviser put it, to make the hard-line national-security case to the President. Cheney didn’t lose every fight, but he was no longer winning them all either. And his backup vanished. Pentagon official Paul Wolfowitz moved to the World Bank in early 2005. Libby was indicted in October of that year and left the government. John Bolton resigned his post as U.S. ambassador to the U.N. the same month Rumsfeld left the Pentagon in 2006. Cheney’s allies no longer manned the key points in the national-security flow chart. “Cheney,” says an ally, “had to fight much harder to win.”

## The Pardon Book

THE FINAL DAYS OF THE BUSH WHITE House were dominated by worries about the gasping economy, farewell interviews by senior officials and plenty of stories about Bush’s dismal approval ratings as he prepared to leave town. But the “elephant in the room,” as an adviser puts it, was the still unresolved case of Libby. Many in the West Wing feared that the matter threatened to rend Bush and Cheney’s relationship because of the intensity of Cheney’s campaign for a full and final pardon.

Bush had long approached pardons with suspicion. As Texas governor, he granted them sparingly. His reluctance stemmed not from a lack of mercy but from his sense that pardons were a rigged game,

## Only an overzealous prosecutor and a liberal Washington jury would criminalize a bad memory, Cheney argued

tilted in favor of offenders with political connections. “He thought the whole pardon system was completely corrupt,” says a top Bush adviser. Bush had a textbook illustration in one of his predecessor’s last acts: Bill Clinton’s eleventh-hour pardon of fugitive financier Marc Rich, whose ex-wife had contributed heavily to his campaigns and presidential library, created a firestorm that consumed Clinton as he left the stage—and overshadowed the first days of the Bush Administration. As President, Bush was often annoyed when guests at holiday parties buttonholed him in photo lines and pleaded for pardons for friends or clients. “Talk to Fred,” he’d say coolly, steering them to Fielding.

On Dec. 23, 2008, Bush announced 19 pardons. No big names. No apparent political sponsors. But one planned pardon went to a Brooklyn, N.Y., developer who had pleaded guilty in the early 2000s to lying to federal housing authorities. After news accounts surfaced that his father had given nearly \$30,000 to the Republican Party earlier that year, the White House backpedaled. It didn’t help that one of the lawyers who had sought the pardon had once worked in Bush’s own counsel’s office—exactly the kind of inside favoritism Bush despised. Bush, who had retreated to Camp David for a last family holiday, spent Christmas Eve fielding phone calls about the case. By day’s end, he decided to kill the developer’s pardon. The experience left him, aides say, even more wary of the process than he was before.

Petitions for pardons are usually sent in writing to the White House counsel’s office or a specially designated attorney at the Department of Justice. In Libby’s case, Cheney simply carried the message directly to Bush, as he had with so many other issues in the past, pressing the President in one-on-one meetings or in larger settings. A White House veteran was struck by his “extraordinary level of attention” to the case. Cheney’s persistence became

nearly as big an issue as the pardon itself. “Cheney really got in the President’s face,” says a longtime Bush-family source. “He just wouldn’t give it up.”

And there was a darker possibility. As a former Bush senior aide explains, “I’m sure the President and [chief of staff] Josh [Bolten] and Fred had a concern that somewhere, deep in there, there was a cover-up.” It had been an article of faith among Cheney’s critics that the Vice President wanted a pardon for Libby because Libby had taken the fall for him in the Fitzgerald probe. In his grand-jury testimony reviewed by TIME, Libby denied three times that Cheney had directed him to leak Plame’s CIA identity in mid-2003. Though his recollection of other events in the same time frame was lucid and detailed, on at least 20 occasions, Libby could not recall details of his talks with Cheney about Plame’s place of employment or questions the Vice President raised privately about Wilson’s credibility. Some Bush officials wondered whether Libby was covering up for Cheney’s involvement in the leak of Plame’s identity.

That meant taking up the pardon question again was, as a West Wing veteran put it later, like passing a kidney stone—for the second time. Bolton declined to take a stand, according to several associates. Instead, he laterated the issue to Fielding, claiming that a legal, not a political, call was required. If the counsel’s office decided a pardon wasn’t merited, says an official involved in the discussions, everyone else would have cover with Cheney. “They could say, ‘Our hands are tied—our lawyers said the guy was guilty.’”

And so again the job fell to Fielding. The counsel knew that only one legitimate reason for a pardon remained: if the case against him had been a miscarriage of justice. Because that kind of judgment required a thorough review, Fielding plowed through a thick transcript of the trial himself, examining the evidence supporting each charge. It took Fielding a full week. He prepared his brief for an expected showdown at a pardon meeting in mid-January 2009.

The Vice President argued the case in that Oval Office session, which was attended by the President and his top aides. He made his points in a calm, lawyerly style, saying Libby was a fall guy for critics of the Iraq war, a loyal team player caught up in a political dispute that never should have

**The decider**  
Despite Cheney's  
vaunted access to Bush,  
the President sealed  
Libby's fate by himself



turned into a legal matter. They went after Scooter, Cheney would say, because they couldn't get his boss. But Bush pushed past the political dimension. "Did the jury get it right or wrong?" he asked.

Cheney replied that the conviction for obstruction of justice was based on what amounted to a case of "he said, he said," a disagreement between his longtime aide and a journalist. Libby had told the grand jury he remembered first hearing Plame's name from NBC's Tim Russert. But notes obtained by prosecutors indicated that Cheney had been the first to identify her to Libby. And Russert denied at Libby's trial that he had mentioned Plame to the defendant. The jury sided with Russert. Cheney, however, considered it an open question. "Who do you believe, Scooter or Russert?" he asked Bush.

And Cheney went further. Even if Russert was right, Libby may have honestly forgotten what was said during a

single conversation in a typically busy day. Memories are fallible. Only an overzealous prosecutor and a liberal Washington jury would criminalize a bad one, he argued.

For his part, Fielding laid out most of his findings in a document called the pardon book, a compendium of evidence for anyone seeking clemency. The book on Libby lengthened the odds on a pardon. "You might disagree with the fact that the case had been brought and that prosecutorial discretion had been used in this way," says a source familiar with the review. "But the question of whether there had been materially misleading statements made by Scooter—on the facts, on the evidence, it was pretty clear." As far as Fielding was concerned, Libby had lied under oath.

And then there was the commutation of 2007. Fielding told Bush that justice had been done in commuting Libby's harsh sentence nearly two years before. Bush had

no moral obligation to do more. "You've done enough," he told the President. Presidential counselor Ed Gillespie, without passing judgment on the legal merits, told Bush a pardon would have political costs: it would be seen as an about-face or a sign that he hadn't been forthright two years earlier in declaring that a commutation was the fairest result.

### **No Surrender**

BUSH WOULD DECIDE ALONE. IN PRIVATE, he was bothered by Libby's lack of repentance. But he seemed more riveted by the central issue of the trial: truthfulness. Did Libby lie to prosecutors? The President had been told by private lawyers in the case that Libby never should have testified before the grand jury and instead should have invoked his Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate himself. Prosecutors can accept that. But lie to them, and it gets personal. "It's the difference between mak-



ing mistakes, which everybody does, and making up a story," a lawyer told Bush. "That is a sin that prosecutors are not going to forgive."

A few days later, about a week before they would become private citizens, Bush pulled Cheney aside after a morning meeting and told him there would be no pardon. Cheney looked stricken. Most officials respond to a presidential rebuff with a polite thanks for considering the request in the first place. But Cheney, an observer says, "expressed his disappointment and disagreement with the decision ... He didn't take it well."

Two days after that, Libby, who hadn't previously lobbied on his own behalf, telephoned Bolten's office. He wanted an audience with Bush to argue his case in person. To Libby, a presidential pardon was a practical as well as symbolic prize: among other things, it would allow him to practice law again. Bolten once more kicked the matter to the lawyers, agreeing to arrange a meeting with Fielding. On Saturday, Jan. 17, with less than 72 hours left in the Bush presidency, Libby and Fielding and a deputy met for lunch at a seafood restaurant three blocks from the White House. Again Libby insisted on his innocence. No one's memory is perfect, he argued; to convict me for not remembering something precisely was unfair. Fielding kept listening for signs of remorse. But none came. Fielding reported the conversation to Bush.

Meanwhile, Bush was running his own traps. He called Jim Sharp, his personal attorney in the Plame case, who had been present when he was interviewed by Fitzgerald in 2004. Sharp was known in Washington as one of the best lawyers nobody knew. A savvy raconteur from Oklahoma who had represented a long list of colorful clients—from Nixon pal Charles G. (Bebe) Rebozo to Sammy Sosa—Sharp had worked quietly for the President for a while before anyone even knew about it. In the meantime, the two men had become friends, spending hours chatting over cigars and near beer. On the Sunday before he left office, Bush invited Sharp to the executive mansion for a farewell cigar.

While packing boxes in the upstairs residence, according to his associates, Bush noted that he was again under pressure from Cheney to pardon Libby. He characterized Cheney as a friend and a good Vice President but said his pardon request had

little internal support. If the presidential staff were polled, the result would be 100 to 1 against a pardon, Bush joked. Then he turned to Sharp. "What's the bottom line here? Did this guy lie or not?"

The lawyer, who had followed the case very closely, replied affirmatively.

Bush indicated that he had already come to that conclusion too.

"O.K., that's it," Bush said.

### Their Separate Ways

WITH ONE DAY TO GO BEFORE BOTH MEN left office, Bush informed Cheney that Libby would not get a pardon. On Inauguration Day, the outgoing Vice President gave a warm tribute to Bush in a private ceremony as the President prepared to leave Andrews Air Force Base for Texas. A day later, Cheney gave an interview to a conservative magazine, saying he disagreed with the President's decision on the Libby pardon. Other Libby backers were quoted in the article, calling Bush "dishonorable" and saying he had left a soldier on the battlefield, language Cheney had used throughout the debate over the pardon. Bush believes that his Vice President was "probably blinded by his personal loyalty to Scooter," a White House aide says. Cheney had pressed the issue as far as he could but finally conceded. "The Vice President knew there was a line out there that he was getting very close to but couldn't cross," says a former senior official. "The President knew that he needed to help make sure that Cheney didn't cross that line either."

Bush and Cheney remain friends but have gone in different directions since leaving office. Bush returned to Texas, where he is raising millions for his presidential library and writing a book about his most pivotal decisions as President. Bush believes he put the war on terrorism and the war in Iraq on solid footings and

will let history speak for his presidency. And Barack Obama? He "deserves my silence," Bush has said.

For Cheney, the fight goes on. Working from a transition office in McLean, Va., he immediately re-entered the fray. He gave a number of high-profile TV interviews in which he decried the closing of the detention facility at Guantánamo Bay and defended what the Bush team called "enhanced interrogations," including waterboarding, as necessary intelligence tools to safeguard the nation. He also warned of another terrorist attack if Obama's policies were left unchecked. He assumed the role of opposition leader on May 21, challenging Obama's antiterrorism policies in a televised speech. Only minutes earlier, Obama had given an address defending his plans for detaining and trying al-Qaeda members on U.S. soil. Cheney is writing a book as well.

Former Bush aides say Cheney's behavior needlessly stoked anti-Bush sentiment, which had only just begun to subside in voters. For Cheney, however, the ongoing battles are an extension of the fight he waged for several years on behalf of Libby. Cheney, says an ally, believes that the true legacy of the Bush years is the uncompromising way he and the President waged the war on terrorism. But Cheney also believes that Bush cannot claim that as a legacy if he fails to protect the aides and officials who carried out the dirty work.

It is an increasingly lonely fight. But as Democrats edge closer to probing the Bush-era practices, perhaps including CIA interrogators, Justice Department lawyers and Cheney's closest aides, it appears his darkest fears may be coming true. Since Cheney was often the man responsible for the policies that are now under scrutiny, it is perhaps no surprise that he is leading the counterrevolt. "I think it is very, very important that we have a clear understanding that what happened here was an honorable approach to defending the nation," Cheney said on May 10. "There was nothing devious or deceitful or dishonest or illegal about what was done."

This is the case Dick Cheney made for years in the Bush White House, prevailing for a long time, until he was outnumbered and outgunned. And it is one he seems prepared to make, without Bush at his side, for a long time to come. ■

**For Cheney, the fight just goes on. The ongoing battles are an extension of the fight he waged for several years on behalf of Libby**



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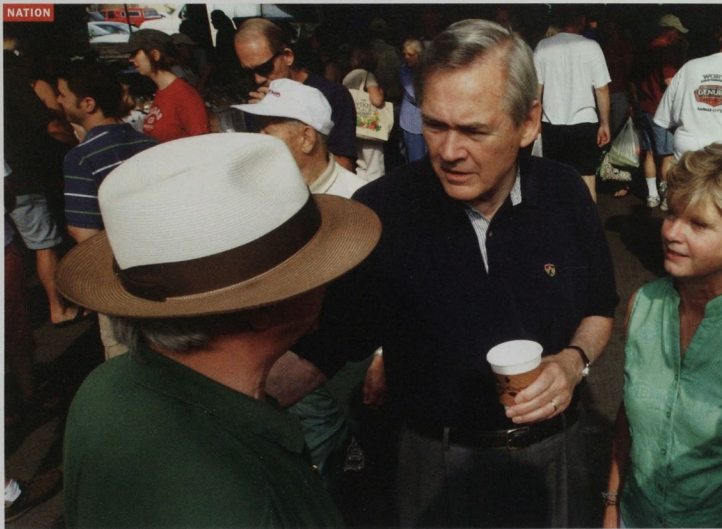


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# Who Let the Blue Dogs Out?

Why moderate Democrats are putting the brakes on health-care reform

BY DAVID VON DREHLE/OVERLAND PARK, KANS.

Kansas City

KANSAS

Third District

"GOT A LOT OF FARMS in your district?" In Washington, Representative Dennis

Moore, a six-term Democrat, fields that question all the time. People see that he's from Kansas and they jump to certain conclusions. But Moore's district is USDA-prime suburbia, more John Updike than L. Frank Baum, mile after mile of trim lawns, Panera Breads, Best Buys and carpooling parents. "What we

grow," Moore likes to answer, "is a lot of small business."

And this helps explain why Moore is now saying, in his laconic Kansas drawl, "Slow down!" to the leaders of his party as they push ahead with a \$1 trillion-plus overhaul of the nation's health-care system. Already this year, Moore has supported a huge spending package to stimulate the economy and a bill to cap carbon emissions. That's an aggressive agenda for a Democrat in a Republican-leaning district.

As he looks toward 2010, the last thing Moore needs is a revolt of small-business owners. Yet they are among the constituencies targeted to pony up for expanded health coverage through new payroll taxes and a surtax on high incomes.

Throughout Congress, moderate Democrats like Moore have been stomping furiously on the brakes as health-care reform has appeared to pick up speed. Some are freshmen from Western states, like Jared Polis of Colorado and Dina Titus of Nevada. Their victories in 2008, part of a possible regional shift in favor of the Democrats, could be erased next year if polls continue to turn against new taxes and mammoth spending plans.

Others are veteran members of the so-called Blue Dog Coalition, which consists of Democrats from less-than-liberal districts. Seven of the eight Blue Dogs on the crucial House Energy and Commerce Committee have threatened to block health-care legislation unless it puts a lid on costs. Resistance strengthened after the head of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office testified that the



current House proposal would push costs up, not down, and would add some \$240 billion to the federal deficit by 2019. That, in turn, has some Senators pushing back against the White House's early-August goal for passing health-care reform. With dissent spreading through his team's locker room, coach Obama was forced into pep-talk mode. "Now is not the time to slow down," he urged on July 17, "and now is certainly not the time to lose heart."

For Moore, it's not a matter of heart. He strongly favors reform. "The American people have spoken, and they clearly want a better health-care system," he says. "If we don't act this year, costs for everyone are going to rise." The problem is runaway spending. "Voters want us to get some kind of a lid on costs," he continues. "They aren't looking for a huge tax increase. Small businesses are struggling to make ends meet as it is."

Most members of Congress don't have to worry much about voters from the other party because most districts are designed to favor either liberals or conservatives. But some mixed districts remain, and the Kan-

**In the swing** Moore, center, meets constituents at a farmers' market in Overland Park, Kans.

sas Third is one of them. Moore's survival depends on winning votes from both sides.

And so Moore spent one recent morning hosting a forum on small-business financing in an auditorium deep in the sprawl of greater Kansas City. Constituents weren't asked to declare their political affiliation, but given the audience demographics—Kansas business owners—Moore could be confident that a number of them were Republicans. For an hour, panelists demystified Small Business Administration paperwork and shared tips for landing loans from local banks. Then the Congressman invited questions.

Carol Nichols, a jewelry designer, stood up, clutched a microphone and launched in. "There's an incredible amount of spending that we are being asked to finance," she began, "and we are not seeing the benefit." The \$787 billion stimulus plan, she declared, has produced "underwhelming" results. Energy

## Blue Dog n.—A fiscally conservative House Democrat

**USAGE:** "The locus of opposition to universal health care is shifting... toward Blue Dog and moderate Democrats who are... worried about future deficits."  
—Former Labor Secretary Robert Reich, on his blog, July 19, 2009

costs will go up to fight global warming. And now health-care costs will increase to cover the uninsured. She closed with an admonition: "Part of living within a budget is spending within a budget." Heads nodded as she sat down.

For Moore, a former prosecutor with a tinge of Hal Holbrook's handgrip air, such speeches are painful. As he explains, he has been a deficit hawk since joining Congress in 1998. Moore and his fellow Blue Dogs tried to win the Bush Administration's support for a budget-balancing proposal they called pay-as-you-go. "President Bush and the Republicans in Congress refused to support us," Moore says. "And in eight years of the Bush Administration, our debt went up \$5 trillion."

Obama, who huddled with a group of Blue Dogs on July 21, has embraced pay-as-you-go, at least in theory, but the sheer scale of his agenda puts Moore on the spot. Each individual item may be worthy; piled onto a single plate, it's a lot to swallow. "I think President Obama has correctly identified a number of crucial long-term issues facing our country," Moore says, "and I hope that he'll see that we can't tackle them all at once."

After the forum, I spoke with Nichols, the jewelry designer, and no surprise: she's a Republican—with a keen understanding of Moore's political situation. Republicans outnumber Democrats in Kansas, but in recent years they have been more interested in internecine combat than in fighting the opposition. Splits over issues like abortion and creationism opened the door for Democrats like Moore and former Kansas governor Kathleen Sebelius to win moderate GOP votes by focusing on education, the environment and economic development.

Now it's the Democrats who must worry about party splits. If a health-care compromise isn't reached in August—an increasingly likely possibility—then the first significant setback for the new Administration will have come from the inside, not from the opposition. An age-old truth reasserts itself in Washington: The only thing harder than building a majority is holding one together. ■

HEALTH

# Preventing Preemies







Each year,  
roughly  
**30,000**  
American  
babies die  
before their  
first birthday

Why do infants die more often in America than in almost every other industrialized country? A search for clues

BY LAURA BLUE

**W**HEN A BABY IS BORN TOO soon, it's hard to imagine that the infant would do better anywhere else in the world than in America. The most fragile preterm infants are housed in specialized intensive-care units and cared for by world-class experts. Prematurity cost the country some \$26 billion in 2005, according to the U.S. Institute of Medicine. And yet for all the technology and expense, roughly 30,000

American babies under age 1 die each year. They die at a rate three times as high as in Singapore, which has the world's best infant survival—long considered a key indicator of a nation's overall level of health. In fact, the U.S.—ranked No. 30 in 2005—lags behind almost every other industrialized nation, behind Cuba, Hungary and Poland.

What explains such dismal figures? The math is fairly simple. Babies born

**Survival odds** *The tiniest babies account for 2% of births but over half of all infant deaths*

preterm—before 37 weeks of gestation—account for two-thirds of all infant deaths, and the number of preemies in the U.S. is growing. Today 1 in 8 American births is preterm—a nearly 20% rise since 1990. The babies at highest risk are those born “very preterm”—before 32 weeks of gestation—who account for just 2% of all births but more than half of all infant deaths (by comparison, 99% of late-preterm babies, born just a week or two early, survive). These very preterm births have driven up the U.S. infant-mortality rate to 6.86 deaths per 1,000 live births. “If we really want to make progress in infant mortality, we have to figure out how to address the problem of preterm birth,” says Eve Lackritz, chief of maternal and infant health at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

But if the reason for the infant-mortality crisis seems clear, what to do about it is not, because premature births remain a genuine medical mystery: in nearly half the cases, the cause is unknown. It is well established that preterm births are more common among very young and very old mothers and among women carrying multiples—twins or triplets. But rates have climbed considerably even among singleton births. Preterm births are also more common in women with upper-genital-tract infections like bacterial vaginosis, in very underweight and very overweight women, in women who undergo cesarean-section births and in women with certain bleeding and clotting disorders. But taken together, these factors still leave doctors stumped in more than 40% of preterm cases.

The enduring dilemma of infant mortality is prompting experts to revisit one of biology's longest-standing questions: Why are babies born when they are? Research teams across the country, including obstetricians, statisticians and molecular biologists, are working in concert—and very slowly beginning to piece together the answer.

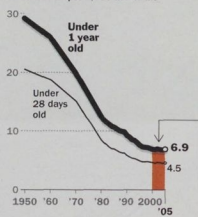
### A Social Laboratory

AT EMORY UNIVERSITY IN ATLANTA, DR. Alfred Brann directs a World Health Organization Collaborating Center in Reproductive Health. The center is a joint project of Emory and the CDC, and in its 28 years of operation, the staff has worked on five continents, in countries including Afghanistan, Cuba, Mexico and Russia, on projects ranging from improving patient safety during childbirth to researching the causes of low fertility.

Brann has a more personal perspective on maternal and infant health than other researchers might. “My mother died in my birth in 1934, and my aunt, who

### The number of infants in the U.S. dying in their first year has fallen steadily...

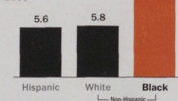
Infant deaths per 1,000 live births



...but progress has stalled this decade...

...and the rate is much higher for blacks than for others...

Infant deaths per 1,000 live births by race and ethnicity of mother, 2005



...leading much of the developed world to pass the U.S. by

Infant deaths per 1,000 live births



Note: Infant refers to babies under 1 year old  
Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; National Center for Health Statistics

raised me, had two very tiny premature babies who died,” he says. Brann trained as a pediatric neurologist, but about 10 years ago, the doctor began to wonder how he might reduce the preterm-birth rate in Georgia—noting that a very small number of early-preterm infants made up the bulk of that state’s infant deaths. He focused on one key fact. To date, the most reliable predictor of preterm birth is simply the mother’s having given birth preterm before.

Brann settled on a strategy: focus on the health of mothers instead of that of the babies—and most important, get them before they’re pregnant. It was a turnaround in a field that had previously “jumped over the problem of why are women having very low-birth-weight babies and started on saving the babies,” says Brann. Infant mortality dropped sharply in the U.S. throughout the 20th century, with improvements first in infectious-disease control and later in survival of vulnerable infants. But even as neonatal care improved, scientists were still uncertain why some babies were born so fragile to begin with. Brann felt the single-minded focus on infant health was keeping the problems in women’s health hidden in plain view.

In six months during 2003 and ’04, Brann and his colleagues ran a small pilot project. They enrolled 29 women in greater Atlanta who had recently given birth to a very low-birth-weight baby and gave each mother two years of free primary health care. Women received regular checkups, nutritional screenings and chronic-disease management when appropriate. Women who said they did not want to get pregnant again got free contraception. Participants also had access to what Brann calls a “resource mother,” who helped each woman with day-to-day life improvements, like securing an apartment or enrolling in school.

The trial results were impressive. Compared with a similar group of women who had preterm, very low-birth-weight babies two years earlier, the intervention group had roughly one-quarter as many repeat adverse outcomes—like ectopic pregnancies, underweight babies or stillbirths. The decrease was achieved mostly by reducing unwanted pregnancies overall. “Now a woman who is healthy and has some control over her own life and elects to become pregnant will have a healthier outcome. That’s not rocket science,” Brann says.

The surprise was just how unhealthy some of these women giving birth to preterm infants really were. Nearly one-fourth of the mothers were sick when the program began. They had severe hypertension, sickle-cell disease or uncontrolled heart problems. Even though they would

# \*because when it comes to matters of the heart, men and women differ.



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**PHILIPS**

sense and simplicity

have automatically become eligible for Medicaid once they were pregnant, for these most at-risk women, "pregnancy is too late," Brann says.

With Brann's guidance, a larger version of the Atlanta trial is recruiting volunteers in Mississippi—which has the highest infant-mortality rate in the U.S. Two other studies have been proposed, one in another Georgia health district and one in Alabama.

Of course, plenty of women appear to be perfectly healthy and still give birth preterm. But the idea that an infant's and a mother's health are related in some complex way—that factors not just during pregnancy but also before conception can have an impact—may help explain why preterm birth has remained a mystery for so long. Many of the things that researchers associated with preterm birth in the field have not seemed to matter when tested rigorously in randomized controlled trials. "[Of] all these things we get for granted—prenatal care, nutrition," says the CDC's Lackritz, almost none have proved effective by themselves in preventing preterm delivery. Only one intervention—weekly shots of a synthetic progesterone—has been shown to reduce preterm birth in high-risk pregnancies. But no other measure, such as bed rest or home uterine monitoring, has proved consistently effective.

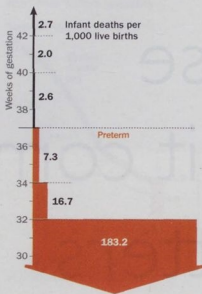
It is possible that the reason doctors cannot pinpoint a single cause of preterm birth is that there are simply too many, involving a vast range of genetic, medical and social factors. "It's almost like cancer," Lackritz says. "There are so many different kinds of cancer, and that's probably going to be our [research] model too."

## Search and Rescue

LIKE CANCER RESEARCHERS, THE NETWORK of scientists who study prematurity has cast a wide net. "We know what's associated with preterm birth, and we know some of the pathophysiology," says Alan Fleischman, medical director of the March of Dimes, the nonprofit foundation best known for its role in ridding the U.S. of paralytic polio in the 20th century and now at the forefront of the charge against prematurity. "But we still have a long way to go in truly understanding what initiates labor or initiates the rupture of membranes that results in preterm birth."

In 2005 the March of Dimes began issuing grants as part of a new Prematurity Research Initiative, dedicated to rooting out the underlying causes of preterm labor. Last year the initiative had \$1.5 million pledged to active studies. Some researchers are hunting for microorganisms that live

## Preterm babies are harder to keep alive...



## ...and more preterm births mean higher infant death rates...

Live births that are preterm

**9.4%**

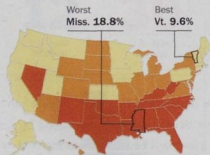
1981

**12.7%**

2007

Preliminary figure

## ...with the highest preterm-birth rates coming from the South



Percentage of live births that were preterm, 2006

- 13.6% or more
- 12.0% to 13.5%
- 11.9% or fewer

Note: Preterm is fewer than 37 completed weeks of gestation. Sources: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; March of Dimes; National Center for Health Statistics.

in the womb to determine their possible role in preterm labor. Others are looking at uterine-muscle function, disruptions in circadian rhythm and weight gain during pregnancy. But perhaps most intriguing of all is the search for genes in mother and child that may affect inflammation—the body's first-line immune response to injury and infection.

Researchers think it's possible that the mother's inflammatory response could be revved up—by disease (bacterial vaginosis, for instance), physical stress (working long hours in a physically demanding job like waitressing) or even social stress. Researchers have long wondered why unmarried women and those with low education have higher preterm-birth rates than their married, college-educated counterparts; social stress could play a role.

Perhaps more troubling is the pronounced racial disparity in infant mortality. African-American babies die more than twice as often as non-Hispanic white babies. (But taken alone, even white Americans would rank just 26th in infant survival globally, behind most of the world's high-income populations; black Americans would fall about 10 places lower.) This divergence is driven largely by blacks' higher rates of preterm birth. Since the death-rate gap persists even among highly educated and high-income Americans—well-educated blacks have higher preterm-birth rates than poorly educated whites—some researchers think there could be greater stress among blacks at all social strata or a genetic predisposition to certain inflammatory responses among some African Americans.

That's because inflammation, researchers believe, may trigger early labor. Labor itself appears to be an inflammatory process. In biopsies of women undergoing cesarean sections, Scottish researchers found large numbers of pro-inflammatory white blood cells in the cervixes of women who had begun labor. Other studies found these cells in fetal membranes during labor, as well as gene expression in the mother consistent with localized inflammation. If such a far-reaching mechanism is to blame, it might explain why discrete treatments, like treating a single infection, don't always help.

The answer is by no means clear. Progress on prematurity, Lackritz says, will probably spring from innovations that combine social, clinical and genetic research. But she is optimistic. "We've seen it over and over," she says. "When the nation's resources and will are behind a common goal, 'then we have impact,' she says—and thousands of babies' lives could be saved in the process."



# ZETIA Helps Fight Cholesterol Differently.

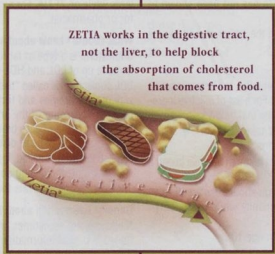
## **ZETIA helps lower cholesterol differently.**

Statins, the most common cholesterol-lowering medicines, are a good option. They work mainly with the liver. ZETIA works in the digestive tract, as do some other cholesterol-lowering medicines.

But ZETIA is unique in the way it helps block the absorption of cholesterol that comes from food.

**Unlike some statins, ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.**

A healthy diet and exercise are important, but sometimes they're not enough to get your cholesterol where it needs to be. ZETIA can complement your efforts. When added to a healthy diet, ZETIA can lower bad cholesterol (LDL) by an average of 18%. Individual results may vary.



## **Important Risk Information About ZETIA:**

ZETIA is a prescription medicine and should not be taken by people who are allergic to any of its ingredients. If you have ever had liver problems, are nursing or pregnant or may become pregnant, a doctor will decide if ZETIA alone is right for you.

Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. In clinical studies, patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included diarrhea, joint pains, and tiredness.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch),

or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

**Please read the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.** For more information, call 1-800-98-ZETIA or visit [zetia.com](http://zetia.com).

**Zetia<sup>®</sup>**  
(ezetimibe) Tablets

**A different way to help fight cholesterol**

Ask your doctor if **ZETIA** is right for you.



To find out if you qualify, call 1-800-347-7503.



Merck / Schering-Plough Pharmaceuticals

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ZETIA is a registered trademark of MSP Singapore Company, LLC.

# ZETIA® (ezetimibe) Tablets

## Patient Information about ZETIA (zēt'-ē-ā)

Generic name: ezetimibe (ē-zēt'-ē-mīb)

Read this information carefully before you start taking ZETIA and each time you get more ZETIA. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about ZETIA, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if ZETIA is right for you.

### What is ZETIA?

ZETIA is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol and LDL (bad) cholesterol in the blood. ZETIA is for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet and exercise alone. It can be used by itself or with other medicines to treat high cholesterol. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

ZETIA works to reduce the amount of cholesterol your body absorbs. ZETIA does not help you lose weight. ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

For more information about cholesterol, see the "What should I know about high cholesterol?" section that follows.

### Who should not take ZETIA?

- Do not take ZETIA if you are allergic to ezetimibe, the active ingredient in ZETIA, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section that follows.
- If you have active liver disease, do not take ZETIA while taking cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins.
- If you are pregnant or breastfeeding, do not take ZETIA while taking a statin.
- If you are a woman of childbearing age, you should use an effective method of birth control to prevent pregnancy while using ZETIA added to statin therapy.

ZETIA has not been studied in children under age 10.

### What should I tell my doctor before and while taking ZETIA?

Tell your doctor about any prescription and non-prescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies. Tell your doctor if you:

- ever had liver problems. ZETIA may not be right for you.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Your doctor will discuss with you whether ZETIA is right for you.
- are breastfeeding. We do not know if ZETIA can pass to your baby through your milk. Your doctor will discuss with you whether ZETIA is right for you.
- experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness.

### How should I take ZETIA?

- Take ZETIA once a day, with or without food. It may be easier to remember to take your dose if you do it at the same time every day, such as with breakfast, dinner, or at bedtime. If you also take another medicine to reduce your cholesterol, ask your doctor if you can take them at the same time.
- If you forget to take ZETIA, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take more than one dose of ZETIA a day.
- Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking ZETIA. Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking ZETIA unless your doctor tells you to stop. It is important that you keep taking ZETIA even if you do not feel sick.

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking ZETIA with a statin and during treatment.

### What are the possible side effects of ZETIA?

In clinical studies patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included diarrhea, joint pains, and feeling tired.

Patients have experienced severe muscle problems while taking ZETIA, usually when ZETIA was added to a statin drug. If you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness while taking ZETIA, contact your doctor immediately. You need to do this promptly, because on rare occasions, these muscle problems can be serious, with muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.

Additionally, the following side effects have been reported in general use: allergic reactions (which may require treatment right away) including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing, rash, and hives; joint pain; muscle aches; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; stomach pain; inflammation of the pancreas; nausea; dizziness; tingling sensation; depression; headache; gallstones; inflammation of the gallbladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on ZETIA. For a complete list of side effects, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

### What should I know about high cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a type of fat found in your blood. Your total cholesterol is made up of LDL and HDL cholesterol.

LDL cholesterol is called "bad" cholesterol because it can build up in the wall of your arteries and form plaque. Over time, plaque build-up can cause a narrowing of the arteries. This narrowing can slow or block blood flow to your heart, brain, and other organs. High LDL cholesterol is a major cause of heart disease and one of the causes for stroke.

HDL cholesterol is called "good" cholesterol because it keeps the bad cholesterol from building up in the arteries.

Triglycerides also are fats found in your blood.

### General information about ZETIA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use ZETIA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ZETIA to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about ZETIA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about ZETIA that is written for health professionals.

### Inactive ingredients:

Croscarmellose sodium, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, povidone, and sodium lauryl sulfate.



**MERCK / Schering-Plough Pharmaceuticals**

Manufactured for:

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North Wales, PA 19454, USA

By:

Schering Corporation  
Kenilworth, NJ 07033, USA  
or Merck & Co., Inc., Whitehouse Station, NJ 08889, USA

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# Too Much Profit?

Goldman Sachs and JPMorgan Chase are raking it in because they're good—if not virtuous

## Extra Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to [time.com/curiouscapitalist](http://time.com/curiouscapitalist)

DURING THREE DECADES AS THE HEAD of financial-services consulting firm Greenwich Associates, Charley Ellis has had a front-row view of Goldman Sachs' rise from also-ran to king of Wall Street. He then spent a decade working on a history of the firm, published last year as *The Partnership: The Making of Goldman Sachs*. So what is Ellis' explanation for Goldman's spectacular rebound—it turned a \$5.2 billion profit in the first half of the year—from the financial crisis?

"The most obvious is people," he says. "They recruit the most extraordinarily talented people, the most gifted in leadership." Then, he continues, Goldman brings these talented leaders together in by far the most team-oriented environment on the Street.

This explanation for Goldman's success hasn't been getting a lot of media play lately. Fox News talker Bill O'Reilly instead refers to the firm as an assemblage of "swine." *Rolling Stone* writer Matt Taibbi, showing more creativity if not sympathy, calls the firm a "great vampire squid wrapped around the face of humanity, relentlessly jamming its blood funnel into anything that smells like money."

The name-calling is fun—and, to some extent, merited. But Goldman's place at the top of the Wall Street heap can easily be explained. Same goes for JPMorgan Chase, Goldman's somewhat less controversial partner in profit. The No. 1 reason these two banks are doing so much better than their rivals is that they're better at what they do than their rivals are.

In his book, Ellis traces Goldman's successful management approach to the

firm's slow recovery from near failure and mortal embarrassment after the 1929 stock-market crash. (An investment fund it launched was one of the era's biggest disasters.) Goldmanites had no choice but to stick together and look to the long run. The firm's now pilloried entwinement with Washington (some call it Government Sachs) began in those days too, after managing partner Sidney Weinberg made the rare-for-Wall Street move of



backing Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. That led to a key role for Weinberg in the World War II industrial-mobilization effort, where he got to know top executives at every major manufacturing firm in the land. After the war, these executives began to reward puny Goldman with business, most notably the giant 1956 initial public offering of Ford Motor.

JPMorgan Chase has an even longer and more storied history. It's a direct descendant of the House of Morgan that dominated Wall Street a century ago. But it's also an agglomeration of Chase Manhattan, Chemical Bank, Manufacturers Hanover, First Chicago, National Bank of Detroit, Bank One, Bear Stearns and Washington Mutual, among others, and this mishmash has only come together as a coherent whole since renowned details guy Jamie Dimon took over as CEO in

2005. "The teamwork culture at JPMorgan Chase is really Jamie Dimon," Ellis says.

The teams at Goldman Sachs and JPMorgan Chase avoided giant missteps in the lead-up to last fall's panic and are now wrestling market share from wounded competitors and raking in billions. They've already paid back the bailout funds they got in October, which means they're exempt from compensation limits and can disburse their gains to employees

in the form of titanic end-of-year bonuses. That's how capitalism is supposed to work, right?

Well, yeah, except that Goldman and JPMorgan played right along with many of the Wall Street practices that led to the crisis. They fought regulation—of derivatives, for instance—that might have prevented it. And their big profits can be traced not only to skill but also to the government's decision last fall to bail out the financial sector just as the troubles that toppled Lehman Brothers and WaMu and forced Bear Stearns, Merrill Lynch and Wachovia into shotgun marriages began to endanger Goldman and (to a lesser extent) JPMorgan. "No one should

be confused about the extent to which the public sector has provided a foundation for financial recovery," White House economic czar Larry Summers said after Goldman and JPMorgan reported their stellar second-quarter earnings.

The lesson Summers draws from this is that Washington must "insist that reforms be put in place so that the mistakes of the past are not repeated." That makes more sense than singling out Goldman and JPMorgan for being too good at what they do. The question, though, is whether such reforms can actually be enacted. In the past, Goldman and JPMorgan—and the rest of the financial industry—put their highly talented employees to work dismantling any regulation that might get in the way of higher profits. If they try that again, maybe "swine" and "vampire squid" will prove too kind. ■

**The No. 1 reason these two banks are doing so much better than their rivals is that they're better at what they do than their rivals are**

# Team Of Rivals

Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai wants to leave the past behind. President Robert Mugabe, 29 years in power, still lives there. Can Zimbabwe be saved?

BY ALEX PERRY/HARARE



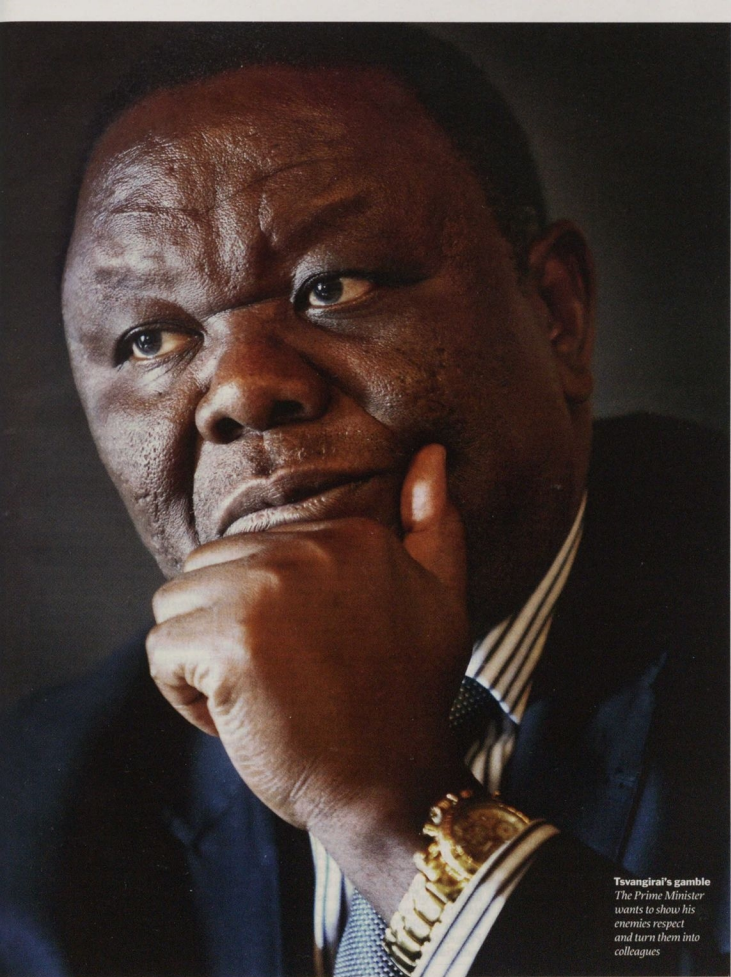
**M**Y NEIGHBOR ON THE FLIGHT is chatty. When I ask why he's going to Harare, he tells me he is an investor. I'm curious. Zimbabwe's economy has collapsed. The government of President Robert Mugabe has destroyed the country's currency. Several million people need food aid, millions more have fled, and an outbreak of cholera—that sure mark of destitution—has killed close to 5,000 and infected 20 times that number in the past year. What's to buy in Zimbabwe? "Graves," my neighbor replies. "Private cemeteries. Other places, I'll do minerals, farms, forests. In Zim, I'm in death."

In the past decade, Zimbabwe has become a repository of stories of the nightmarish and grotesque. The southern African nation is (or should be) a place of plenty, a former food exporter that was ruined, beaten and starved by the ineptitude, corruption and paranoia of its aging dictator, a liberation hero who led Zimbabwe to independence but—in a familiar African refrain—came to personify all the tragedy and broken promise of a continent. I'd had my own brief disaster there in April 2007, when, the day after I arrived, the subject of my very first interview asked me to wait while he ran to

do a quick errand, returning minutes later with two policemen. I spent five days in jail before I was tried and fined for reporting without accreditation. Now, on my first trip back, my companion seemed to be confirming that Zimbabwe's long night endured.

That was certainly my expectation. Zimbabwe's history has been marked by turbulence since 1965, when the white minority government of the country, then called Rhodesia, unilaterally declared independence from Britain. After a long and bloody guerrilla war, the black majority finally took power in 1980, with Mugabe as independent Zimbabwe's first leader. He has ruthlessly held on to the position ever since. In March of last year, his Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) lost a general election to Morgan Tsvangirai's opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Refusing to accept the result, Mugabe turned his security forces on his own people, killing more than 100, arresting thousands and displacing tens of thousands. But this February, with the economy in free fall, Mugabe agreed to share power with Tsvangirai. Mugabe would remain President, Tsvangirai would be Prime Minister, and their parties would split the ministries and Cabinet.





**Tsvangirai's gamble**  
*The Prime Minister  
wants to show his  
enemies respect  
and turn them into  
colleagues*

On a continent where democracy is taking root more firmly each year, the deal was welcomed as an important step away from the habits of the past. Ever since, however, Mugabe and ZANU have blocked and delayed Tsvangirai and the MDC. When I caught my plane to Harare, the new state was still only partly formed and Mugabe was deriding the MDC as "insolent." Worse for Tsvangirai's supporters was the sight of their leader smiling and shaking hands with a man whose forces had repeatedly tried to kill him—and them. For years, Tsvangirai had told them that a new era awaited one thing: Mugabe's departure. If Zimbabwe really was a nation in transition, as Tsvangirai insisted, how come the old tyrant was still in charge?

### A Prayer for Deliverance

MY JOURNEY TO SEEK AN ANSWER TO THAT question started with a surprise. The former driver of some émigré friends of mine met me at the airport, and soon we hit a traffic jam. Two years earlier, traveling in Zimbabwe had been a logistical feat that involved prearranging fuel stops. Now I was stuck in a line of cars outside—another surprise—a packed mall, complete with restaurants, furniture stores and a buzzing supermarket.

Tsvangirai was giving a speech the following day in Gweru, three hours southwest of Harare, and I drove down. A priest began the event with a prayer: "Visit this place, O Lord, and drive far from it all the snares of the enemy and rescue our nation from all the humongous problems we are facing." Tsvangirai was more upbeat. He acknowledged that Zimbabwe's transition was "not an easy one" and said the country was in a "period of uncertainty and anxiety, exacerbated by hard-liners who respect no rule of law and care nothing for the national good, putting personal wealth and power above all other considerations." Nevertheless, he said, change was visible. The economy was reviving. Schools and hospitals had reopened. Now that the Zimbabwean currency had been replaced by the U.S. dollar and the South African rand, inflation has fallen from 231,000,000% to 3%. And while Mugabe and ZANU were the problem and "pose the greatest threat to our nation's future," Tsvangirai argued, they were also part of the solution. "We must realize and accept that these individuals are Zimbabweans, and we must understand their fears in order to accommodate them," he said. "We seek no retribution."

This is Tsvangirai's gamble. He wants the people who tried to kill him to believe he bears no grudge. (Since his wife died in March in a car accident in which he was



also hurt, Tsvangirai finds himself repeatedly assuring his supporters that the crash was not another murder attempt.) He wants Zimbabweans and the world to rethink how they deal with Mugabe and other African Big Men. Demonizing them may be principled and cathartic, Tsvangirai believes, but it is ineffective. Criticism has done nothing to dislodge Muammar Gaddafi in Libya (in his 40th year in power) or José Eduardo dos Santos in Angola or Teodoro Obiang in Equatorial Guinea (both in their 30th), while Africa's most enduring autocrat, Gabon's Omar Bongo, died in June in his 42nd year in office. Criticism has actually strengthened Mugabe, allowing him to cast himself as a heroic defender of Africa taking up the cudgel, just as he did when he led the fight for independence against racist Western imperialism.

Don't think of Mugabe as a madman and Zimbabwe as a country in flames, says Tsvangirai. (And he is right that Mugabe has always displayed a consistent, if despotic, logic and that the toll from last year's violence would amount to little more than a bad afternoon in Somalia or the Democratic Republic of Congo.) And don't seek rebellion or assassination—that's precisely what has hobbled Africa for 50 years. Instead, try showing your enemies respect and turning them into colleagues. Leave the old arguments and conflicts where they belong: in the past. Try peace. Try the future. As Tsvangirai told me a few days later in Harare, "This is not a revolution. This is an evolution."

The trouble with evolution, as the Prime Minister went on to say, is that it sometimes can be "slow and frustrating."

In the interview, Tsvangirai gave himself five years to transform his country. That may be realistic, but the pace can also make Tsvangirai's optimism feel premature. The power-sharing deal set out a timetable for a new constitution by October 2010, but that schedule is already slipping. The more obstacles Mugabe throws in Tsvangirai's way—the latest came on July 13 when protesting ZANU supporters forced the postponement of a conference on constitutional reform—the more what the Prime Minister calls an "irreversible path of transition" begins to feel agonizingly never ending. On a recent tour of the U.S. and Europe, the Prime Minister picked up what the MDC says is \$500 million in aid promises, a small fraction of the amount his Finance Minister, Tendai Biti, says Tsvangirai needs to revive the country. The money was a message, says a Western diplomat in Harare, that the world wants more speed.

In Gweru, the sense of frustration was palpable. "Are we all doomed?" one audience member asked Tsvangirai. The day after the speech, I met a group of MDC supporters in Bindura, an area of yellow-grass farms and bare granite hillsides an hour north of Harare, who share the gloom. MDC members there were among the worst affected by last year's violence. Mangezvo Chenjera, 38, an MDC village councilor, says that last June a ZANU mob smashed through the walls of his house, dragged him out, broke both his legs with iron bars and left him for dead in a ditch. "Tsvangirai," he says, "can say what he wants, but it's just talk. The people who beat me still walk freely around here." A short drive away, in Chiveso, Gabriel



**Zimbabwe's troubled faces** A patient is treated for cholera at a clinic in Harare, left; at a funeral in Chitungwiza, a woman mourns the loss of a young MDC activist who was beaten to death by Mugabe's supporters



Mangurenje, 39, says he has been beaten out of his home by ZANU mobs five times since 2000 and has lost two brothers, both MDC activists, to the violence. "Of course we want to see a peaceful approach," he says, "but we also want to see light at the end of the tunnel."

Tsvangirai's focus on a bright, distant future also takes little account of how firmly Zimbabwe—a place of first-generation Toyota Corollas and jukeboxes playing Sade and early Madonna—is stuck in the past. To this day, state newspapers and radio stations lead the news with profiles of ZANU heroes who have been dead for 30 years. Mugabe's men obsessively blame Britain, the old colonial power, for all Zimbabwe's problems today. Mugabe—a man who wears impeccable suits and drinks afternoon tea—is "half African and half British," says his biographer Heidi Holland, "and the two halves hate each other." In a Harare hotel, I meet Christopher Mutsungwira, a ZANU supporter, businessman and former ambassador to China, whose clock seems to have stopped at independence in 1980. "Losing [Zimbabwe] was a very traumatic experi-

ence for British imperial pride," he says, "and they feel it needs to be reversed." Hyperinflation, he insists, was a British fabrication. "It wasn't generated by anything the government did. It was generated by a British computer."

Many of Zimbabwe's old white Rhodesian settlers are just as riveted by the past. They argue that until Mugabe and his supporters give back farms that were appropriated from whites—something no Zimbabwean leader endorses as either practical or just—there is no hope for economic recovery. When that argument is put directly to Mugabe at an investors' conference, the President, 85, answers with a fluent 14-minute history lesson on how Zimbabwe won its independence. The point of this polemic? The responsibility for any problems with land reform, concludes Mugabe, "is a British one."

### Change Is Coming

A COUNTRY SO FIXATED ON THE PAST AND so unwilling to take responsibility for its own condition will have difficulty perceiving its future. A people desperate for change might not recognize gradual adjustment as the real thing.

Yet change is indeed coming. Even the glumest Zimbabwean will acknowledge the reopening of schools, hospitals, shops and factories. And Tsvangirai is adjusting well to his new role, successfully seizing the political initiative from the man who has held it for more than a generation. The contrast between the two leaders was never greater than on Tsvangirai's recent foreign tour, during which he was feted by President Barack Obama, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and Ger-

man Chancellor Angela Merkel. At an African Union summit in Libya, meanwhile, Mugabe stormed out of a meeting with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson, calling him an "idiot" for trying to "dictate to us."

And 30 years after the party's glory days, ZANU's power is finally waning. Partly this is economic; there are fewer spoils to go around. Tsvangirai told me that when he took office in February, the state's entire resources ran to just \$4 million. Last November, several hundred soldiers rioted in Harare over poor pay and conditions. Even if Mugabe called on troops to stage a coup and suppress dissent, it's no longer clear they would obey him. "The emperor is wearing no clothes," says Leonard Makombe, a politics lecturer at the moth-balled University of Zimbabwe.

Even now, most Zimbabweans seem to find it hard to admit that their emperor—the man who Tsvangirai acknowledges was a "national hero" once—might be naked. But for how long? As I drive back to the airport, Mugabe's voice comes on the radio. He is speaking at the funeral of yet another hero of the fight for independence. "I have delivered to my nation, my people, a Zimbabwe that is free," he says. "We call ourselves Zimbabweans now, and we never called ourselves Zimbabweans before. We never had a flag before, did we? No. We never had a national anthem before, did we? No." A name, a banner and a song—the proud appurtenances of Africa's heroic struggle against its colonial oppressors. Mugabe may be the last man in Zimbabwe who thinks they are now enough. —WITH REPORTING

BY COLUMBUS MAVHUNGA/HARARE ■

**'Tsvangirai can say what he wants, but it's just talk. The people who beat me still walk freely around here.'**

—MANGEZVO CHENJERA, A VILLAGE COUNCILOR



I'm 26 years old  
I can't write.

Don't blame computers for my chicken scratch. A shift in educational priorities has left an entire generation of Americans with embarrassingly bad penmanship. How much does it matter?

BY CLAIRE SUDDATH

I CAN'T REMEMBER HOW TO WRITE A capital Z in cursive. The rest of my letters are shaky and stiff, my words slanted in all directions. It's not for lack of trying. In grade school I was one of those insufferable girls who used pink pencils and dotted their i's with little circles. I experimented with different scripts, and for a brief period I even took the time to make two-story a's, with the fancy overhang used in most fonts (including this magazine's). But everything I wrote, I wrote in print. I am a member of Gen Y, the generation that shunned cursive. And now there is a group coming after me, a boom of tech-savvy children who don't remember life before the Internet and who text-message nearly as much as they talk. They have even less need for good penmanship. We are witnessing the death of handwriting.

People born after 1980 tend to have a distinctive style of handwriting: a little bit sloppy, a little bit childish and almost never in cursive. The knee-jerk explanation is that computers are responsible for our increasingly illegible scrawl, but Steve Graham, a special-education and literacy professor at Vanderbilt University, says that's not the case. The simple fact is

that kids haven't learned to write neatly because no one has forced them to. "Writing is just not part of the national agenda anymore," he says.

Cursive started to lose its clout back in the 1920s, when educators theorized that because children learned to read by looking at books printed in manuscript rather than cursive, they should learn to write the same way. By World War II, manuscript, or print writing, was in standard use across the U.S. Today schoolchildren typically learn print in kindergarten, cursive in third grade. But they don't master either one. Over the decades, daily handwriting lessons have decreased from an average of 30 minutes to 15.

Zaner-Bloser, the nation's largest supplier of handwriting manuals, offers coursework through the eighth grade but admits that these days, schools rarely purchase materials beyond the third grade. The company, which is named for two men who ran a penmanship school back when most business documents were handwritten, occasionally modifies its alphabet according to cultural tastes and needs.

Handwriting has never been a static art. The Puritans simplified what they consid-

ered hedonistically elaborate letters. Nineteenth-century America fell in love with loopy, rhythmic Spencerian script (think *Coca-Cola*: the soft-drink behemoth's logo is nothing more than a company bookkeeper's handiwork), but the early 20th century favored the stripped-down, practical style touted in 1894's *Palmer Guide to Business Writing*.

The most recent shift occurred in 1990, when Zaner-Bloser eliminated all superfluous adornments from the so-called Zanerian alphabet. "They were nice and pretty and cosmetic," says Kathleen Wright, the company's national product manager, "but that isn't the purpose of handwriting anymore. The purpose is to get a thought across as quickly as possible." One of the most radical overhauls was to Q, after the U.S. Postal Service complained that people's sloppy handwriting frequently caused its employees to misread the capital letter as the number 2.

I entered third grade in 1990, the year of the great alphabet change. My teacher, Linda Garcia at Central Elementary in Wilmette, Ill., says my class was one of the last to learn the loops and squiggles. "For a while I'd show my kids both ways," she says. "But the new alphabet is easier for them, so now I just use that one."

Garcia, who has been teaching for 32 years, says her children consider cursive a "rite of passage" and are just as excited to learn it as ever. But once they leave her classroom, it's a different story. She doesn't know any teachers in the upper grades who address the issue of handwriting, and she frequently sees her former students reverting

Aa Bb Cc Dd Ee Ff Gg Hh Ii Jj Kk Ll Mm



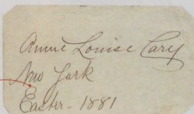
# Left, and in Cursive

to old habits. "They go back to sloppy letters and squished words," she says. "Handwriting is becoming a lost art."

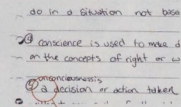
Why? Technology is only part of the reason. A study published in the February issue of the *Journal of Educational Psychology* found that just 9% of American high school students use an in-class computer more than once a week. The cause of the decline in handwriting may lie not so much in computers as in standardized testing. The Federal Government's landmark 1983 report *A Nation at Risk*, on the dismal state of public education, ushered in a new era of standardized assessment that has intensified since the passage in 2002 of the No Child Left Behind Act. "In schools today, they're teaching to the tests," says Tamara Thornton, a University of Buffalo professor and the author of a history of American handwriting. "If something isn't on a test, it's viewed as a luxury." Garcia agrees. "It's getting harder and harder to balance what's on the test with the rest of what children need to know," she says. "Reading is on there, but handwriting isn't, so it's not as important." In other words, schools don't care how a child holds her pencil as long as she can read.

Is that such a bad thing? Except for physicians—whose illegible handwriting on charts and prescription pads causes thousands of deaths a year—penmanship has almost no bearing on job performance. And aside from the occasional grocery list or Post-it note, most adults

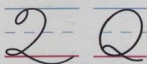
## The Decline of Handwriting



**1800s**  
Embellished letters signify care and precision; appearance is very important



**2000s**  
Students care less about form and more about originality; note the flair packed into this a



**OFFICIAL STREAMLINING**  
In 1990 the Zaner-Bloser cursive manual changed its capital Q to look more like manuscript as it simplified the alphabet, below

write very little by hand. The Emily Post Institute recommends sending a handwritten thank-you but says it doesn't matter whether the note is in cursive or print, as long as it looks tidy. But with the declining emphasis in schools, neatness is becoming a rarity.

"I worry that cursive will go the way of Latin and that eventually we won't be able to read it," says Garcia. "What if 50 years from now, kids can't read the Declaration of Independence?"

I am not bothered by the fact that I will never have beautiful handwriting. My printing will always be fat and round and look as if it came from a 12-year-old. And let's be honest: the Declaration of Independence is already hard to read. We are living in the age of social networks and frenzied conversation, composing more e-mails, texting more messages and keeping in touch with more people than ever before. Maybe this is the trade-off. We've given up beauty for speed, artistry for efficiency. And yes, maybe we are a little bit lazy.

Cursive's demise is due in part to the kind of circular logic espoused by Alex McCarter, a 15-year-old in New York City. He has such bad handwriting that he is allowed to use a computer on standardized tests. The U.S. Department of Education estimates that only 0.3% of high school students receive this particular accommodation. McCarter's mother tried everything to help him improve his penmanship, including therapy, but the teenager likes his special status. "I kind of want to stay bad at it," he says. These days, that shouldn't be a problem. ■

Nm Oo Pp Qq Rr Ss Tt Uu Vv Ww Xx Yy Zz

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There's no buzz kill quite like getting a friend request on Facebook from your parents

WEB WATCH, PAGE 53

# Life

TRAVEL IDEAS FOOD WEB WATCH GOING GREEN



## TRAVEL

### Trading (Vacation) Places.

More families are swapping homes with strangers

BY HILLARY CHURA

AS THE ECONOMY CONTINUES to flounder, many families are forgoing summer vacations in favor of staying at home. But there's a more interesting option that is just as cheap: vacationing in someone else's home. Growing numbers of people here and abroad are seeking a thrifty change of scenery by skipping all the hotels and looking instead to swap houses with strangers. Agree to use each other's cars, and you can save big bucks on rentals too.

Home exchanges are not new. At least one group, Intervac, has been facilitating such arrangements since 1953. But traffic online is particularly brisk these days, with several sites, including HomeExchange.com—which was founded in 1992 and, with some 28,000 listings, bills itself as the world's largest home-exchange club—reporting that membership has increased 30% or more this year.



# The Price Is Right. These places are all free, if the owners can find good swapping partners



## MONTREAL TOWNHOUSE

This graystone is located in the city's trendy Plateau Mont-Royal district

### WILL SWAP FOR

A three-week stay in Argentina

### WHERE IT'S LISTED

**1stHomeExchange.com**, where it's free to list a home but costs \$75 a year to contact members



## SEASIDE CONDO IN BRAZIL

This multisuite condo near São Paulo has an infinity pool and a dry sauna

### WILL SWAP FOR

A house in Jackson Hole, Wyo., or Hawaii

### WHERE IT'S LISTED

**HomeExchange.com**, a 17-year-old site whose membership (at \$99.95 annually) is up 34% this year



## ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSE

This five-bedroom in Derbyshire includes use of the family car

### WILL SWAP FOR

A house in Europe, the U.S. or the Caribbean

### WHERE IT'S LISTED

**HomeForExchange.com**, which offers members (who pay \$88 for two years) special cancellation insurance

For an annual fee that is usually less than \$100, members can access thousands of listings for apartments, condos, villas, suburban homes and farms around the world. Initial contact is made through the sites via e-mail, with subsequent communication usually by phone. Before a match is made, potential swappers tend to talk a lot as part of a scoping-out phase that one exchange site likens to online dating.

It's hard to beat free access to a washer and dryer and fully equipped kitchen, but swaps entail more planning than simply whipping out a credit card for a vacation package. Exchange seekers often contact dozens of people before they find someone willing and appropriate. For starters, location really matters. Kathleen Dwyer, a retired assistant principal who has been exchanging for six years, says she fielded lots of offers

to swap when she posted her apartment in Manhattan. Now that she exchanges only her vacation home—an old sea captain's house in a fishing village in Nova Scotia—swapping inquiries have slowed to a trickle.

She has swapped with people as far away as Hawaii and New Zealand, and once she exchanged her one-bedroom co-op (with an alley view) for a large, upscale home on a lagoon (with a view of the ocean) in California. "I burst out laughing. I could not get over it," she said of the fine-artwork-filled home that the Marin County couple

swapped with her so they could visit their daughter and her new baby. "They got this little, small apartment, and I got this million-dollar home. I laughed at the trade, but they were happy to be near their daughter in Manhattan, so it worked out fine."

Although home swappers often become such fans of the practice that they have a hard time paying for a hotel, the concept may sound dicey to the uninitiated. What about theft? Damage? Reasonable causes for concern, but equally unlikely. "Nobody is going to fly across the ocean or drive 600 miles to come steal your flat-screen TV," says Tony DiCaprio, president of **1stHomeExchange.com**, a four-year-old site that has seen membership increase 30% this year. Remember, he notes, "at the same time they're staying in your home, you are staying in their home."

**Swappers tend to have a scoping-out phase that one exchange site likens to online dating**

Some swappers use a padlock to keep their jewelry and tax returns safely out of sight. But Ed Kushins, founder of **HomeExchange.com**, said that in 17 years in the business, he has never received a report of theft or malicious damage. If there are issues such as wine stains and other mishaps, they are handled privately, though he has been asked to intervene about the occasional scratched car, for example.

Exchange sites recommend that swappers discuss such matters ahead of time. Randle Griggs, a retired financial planner in Tempe, Ariz., who has participated in more than 20 domestic and international home exchanges since 1996, always asks swappers to fill out an agreement spelling out who shoulders which responsibilities should a problem arise. "I'm not sure if the agreement would hold up in court, but at least it gives you a little satisfaction," he said.

Generally, the biggest complaint among home exchangers has to do with different standards of cleanliness. Swappers are supposed to make sure their home is in order before they depart, but one person's idea of clean may be more, shall we say, forgiving than another's. And homeowners say that if they come back to a less-than-sparkling kitchen, well, that may be inconvenient but not sufficient to sour them on exchanges.

While New York, London and San Francisco are some of the most popular destinations, swappers need not live in major metropolitan areas or palatial splendor to luck out with great swaps. Exhausted urban residents who need a break from the hubbub may be more than willing to swap their fabulous condo for a lakeside cabin in the middle of nowhere. "It may be a little bit tougher to find someone if you live in Nebraska than if you live in France," DiCaprio said. But it can be done. "Sell its virtues: kayaking, hiking over trails, trout fishing, some festival in summer. Why do you enjoy living there?" ■



IDEAS

# Open-Mike Night for Entrepreneurs.

In search of support (moral and financial), idea people take to the stage



M.C. Innovator Ami Kassir introduces entrepreneurs in Philadelphia

BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

OPEN-MIKE-NIGHT PERFORMERS always have to worry about audience members stealing their shtick. But a joke is one thing; what about a business plan? That's a risk for budding entrepreneurs who pay \$15 at the door or \$20 a month to hone their 90-second pitches onstage. Attendees at the bi-weekly open-mike events in Philadelphia and Los Angeles offer feedback over booze and pizza, while simulcast viewers weigh in via Twitter. The wide reach makes some participants

nervous. "You have no control over who's listening," says Michael Riordan, 26, who unveiled his plan for a New Age yearbook company at the inaugural Philly event in January. "I didn't give a lot of details."

The name of these entrepreneurial gatherings—Blioblive—aims to reflect the



## Ideas on Tap

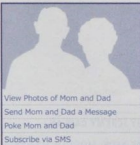
To see an entrepreneurial open-mike night in action, go to [time.com/openmike](http://time.com/openmike)

malleability of ideas. (To drive the point home, participants receive blue Silly Putty in silver tins labeled *SHAPE YOUR THOUGHTS*.) Founder Ami Kassir, a dotcom start-up veteran, launched the events on a regular basis in April as an off-line extension of his idea-sharing website, [ideablob.com](http://ideablob.com). Plus, he notes, "being an entrepreneur can be lonely."

Though the crowds are still fairly small—about 50 people a night—Kassir is weighing expansion into more cities. Meanwhile, participants, whose ideas have ranged from an open-source moviemaking website to a wedding registry for grooms, say they've gained p.r. contacts, business partners and moral support.

As for those fears that the shady guy hogging the Beer Nuts will walk off with your idea? Riordan, on his lawyers' advice, makes people sign a nondisclosure agreement before divulging more details. Others take their chances with an honor code not to steal one another's ideas. Says Kassir: "We've never heard a complaint." At least not yet. ■

## WEB WATCH



## D'oh! My Parents Are on Facebook!

There's no buzz kill quite like getting a friend request on Facebook from your parents. This phenomenon—a growing one, as Facebook's demographic gets grayer—prompted two Los Angeles 20-somethings, Erika Brooks Adickman and Jeanne Leitenberg, to chronicle just how awkward things get when parents invade their kids' digital space. [MyParentsJoinedFacebook.com](http://MyParentsJoinedFacebook.com) gathers cringe-inducing postings, from moms asking in semipublic forums about recent breakups to dads taking the How Dirty Is Your Mind? quiz. (That perfect score isn't comforting.)

But the site's founders aren't trying to dissuade parents from joining in on the online fun. Leitenberg says she and her father have even—gasp!—grown closer since he joined Facebook. Instead, the site is meant to help parents avoid common pitfalls, like oversharing. "We want people to know that when they get that friend request, it's O.K. to say yes," Brooks Adickman says. —BY DAN FLETCHER ■

## FOOD

## Go Organic, Literally

It's a smart idea with a silly acronym. WWOOF, short for World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms, connects cash-strapped travelers with farms in need of extra hands. The lodging-for-labor combo means volunteers pay only for transportation,

plus a small fee for access to host-farm listings in one of the 92 countries through [wwof.org](http://wwof.org). Rita Garand, a stay-at-home mom in Montreal, loved her stint on a lavender farm in Italy this May, where her family spent five hours a day weeding. But would-be

WWOOFers should ask about specifics, advises Mark Phillips, a Boston sales associate who had to work 10-hour days on a French farm. "It was far more time in the fields than I'd bargained for," he says. "But the meals were fantastic." —BY COELI CARR ■



## GOING GREEN

# Better Bulbs. High-tech lighting is getting more energy-efficient and more aesthetically pleasing too

BY JEREMY CAPLAN

BY NOW, MOST OF US ARE all too familiar with the annoyances that come with compact fluorescent lamps. Yeah, yeah, CFLs use about a third as much energy as old-school incandescent bulbs, last many times as long and can save consumers an average of \$50 over the life of a bulb. But the light that standard CFLs give off doesn't seem inviting, they can't be used with a dimmer, and they take way too long to turn on.

Take heart, however, because a new generation of CFLs aims to address these concerns. And other lighting innovations are hitting the market just as President Obama ups the efficiency stakes. This summer he announced tougher standards that, in combination with a law passed in 2007, will ultimately make it a lot less expensive for Americans to light their homes and offices.

Electric lighting currently accounts for 19% of the world's electricity use, pumping as much greenhouse-gas pollution into the atmosphere every year as half the world's cars. Much of that results from outdated, inefficient light sources in homes, offices and parking lots. Energy-efficiency advocates say that because lighting is ubiquitous, the new guidelines will have a bigger

environmental impact than any other appliance standards, including those for refrigerators and air conditioners.

As CFL manufacturers improve quality—Earthmate's latest offering contains 80% less mercury than the standard curlicued CFLs—incandescent makers are fighting to stay in the market. For instance, Philips' new Halogena line uses 30% less energy than traditional incandescents, enough to meet the government standards that take effect in 2012.

But CFLs and incandescents could both be left in the dark by LEDs, or light-emitting diodes. The leading lighting companies are racing to release traditional bulb-shaped LEDs that last five to 10 times as long as CFLs, contain no mercury and use far less energy. These amazing new lights also come with a

flashing neon price tag: \$50 for Lemnis Lighting's PharoX, which uses 6 watts of power to match the output of a 60-watt incandescent.

Lemnis co-founder Warner Philips, whose great-grandfather started the lighting giant Philips Electronics, says that despite the sticker shock, demand is surging for Lemnis' LEDs. One early adopter is Google, which recently bought 25,000 bulbs from the Netherlands-based company. So far this year, Lemnis has received orders for 3 million PharoX bulbs, mostly from Europe; it will start selling them online in the U.S. on Aug. 15.

Getting Americans to switch from paying \$0.40 for a lightbulb to \$50 won't be easy. But such shifts have happened before. Electric toothbrush, anyone? ■



### A GREENER CROP

To lighten electricity bills, new bulbs are using different technologies. From left:

#### Lemnis' PharoX LED

Price: \$50

Lifetime: 25 years

Color temperature: \* 3000 K

#### FACTOID

This light-emitting diode bulb needs only 6 watts to match the output of a standard 60W incandescent and will last for decades.

#### Earthmate's Super

Mini-Size CFL

Price: \$3.50

Lifetime: 10,000 hours

Color temperature: 2700 K

#### FACTOID

One of the few low-mercury fluorescents, it uses 75% less electricity than a standard 60W incandescent and lasts 13 times as long.

#### Philips' T60 Halogena

Price: \$5

Lifetime: 3,000 hours

Color temperature: 2900 K

#### FACTOID

This new breed of incandescent uses 40 watts to cast as nice and bright a light as a standard 60W incandescent.

\*The higher this number, measured in kelvins, the "cooler" the light is, with a bluish hue. Lower numbers are "warmer," or yellower. For reference, a Sylvania Soft White 60W incandescent clocks in at 2850 K.



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This Kenmore Elite Trio saves up to 40% more energy than an older refrigerator. That's enough to keep the lights on for nearly four months. Another reason why more Americans choose Kenmore ENERGY STAR® qualified appliances than any other brand. Learn more about the full line of energy-saving appliances at [Kenmore.com](http://Kenmore.com).

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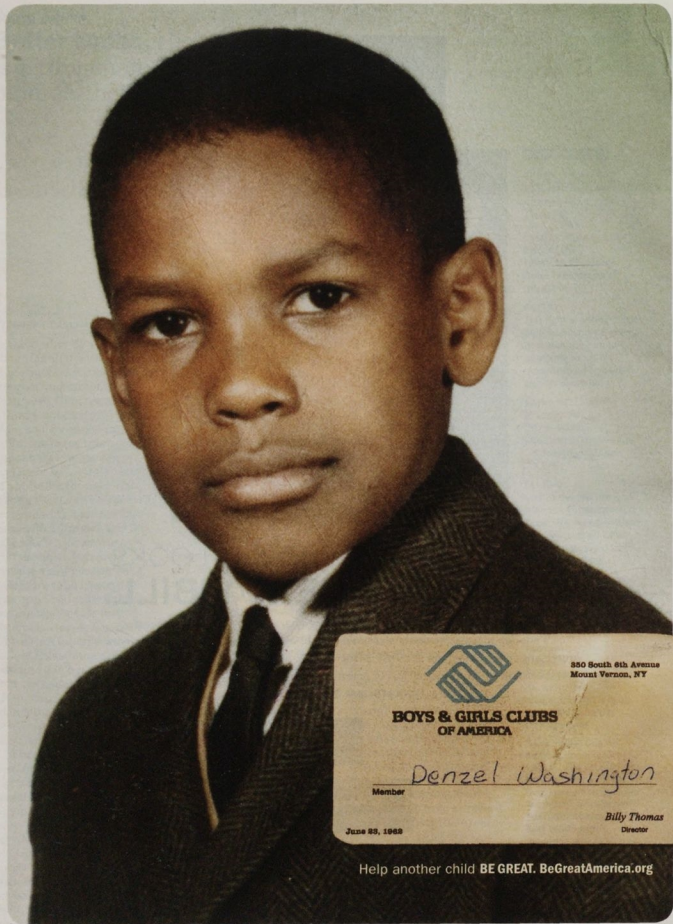


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**Q:** We'd like to cut back on spending and boost our savings in hopes of feeling more secure. Is there a shortcut?

**A:** The quickest method to free up cash for savings: Take a hard look at your latest credit card and bank statements, and identify one recurring cost that you can reduce or eliminate—maybe a phone line or gym membership. Then redirect that amount to savings vehicles. Willing to put in a little more effort? Use the

## ► The easy way to budget

Think of your money as going into three buckets:

### BUCKET NO. 1: Future goals (savings/investment accounts)

How much do you want to set aside monthly for ...	Retirement .....	\$ .....
	College .....	.....
	Emergency fund .....	.....
	Other .....	.....
TOTAL BUCKET No. 1		\$ .....

### BUCKET NO. 2: Recurring costs (checking account)

How much do you pay a month for ...	Mortgage/rent .....	\$ .....
	Insurance .....	.....
	Energy/utilities .....	.....
	Loans/credit debt .....	.....
	Other .....	.....
TOTAL BUCKET No. 2		\$ .....

### BUCKET NO. 3: Day-to-day costs (second checking account)

A) Monthly take-home pay .....	\$ .....
B) Savings and fixed expenses (ADD BUCKETS 1 AND 2) .....	.....
C) Discretionary money for bucket No. 3 (SUBTRACT B FROM A) .....	.....
D) Weekly spending allowance (DIVIDE C BY 4.3) .....	\$ .....

SOURCE: firststepcashmanagement.com

## ACTION PLAN

- Determine which savings goals to tackle first with the priorities tool at [cnnmoney.com/tools](http://cnnmoney.com/tools).
- Set up automatic transfers from checking to savings via your bank's website.

"bucket budget" above. First, decide how much you want to save; have that automatically sent to savings or investment accounts so you can't touch it. Then set up two checking accounts: one to pay bills from, the other for day-to-day expenses. You can withdraw only a set amount per week from the second, which helps rein in spending.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Even if your finances are in fine shape, you're probably feeling some money anxiety these days. So how do you set, and stick to, the right spending and saving course without obsessing over every nickel? Money editors tackled that question recently in a talk at a Bank of America branch in Atlanta. This report, part of a series in Money, Fortune, Time, and Real Simple magazines and websites, as well as on CNN, reflects that day's discussion. To learn more, visit [CNN.com/moneyandmainstreet](http://CNN.com/moneyandmainstreet). —CRAIG MATTERS, Managing Editor, Money

### Q: I need a bigger cash cushion in case I lose my job. How much is enough and how do I get there?

**A:** With the unemployment rate expected to hit double digits by year-end and job searches taking more time than they had been, it's no longer enough to keep just three months' worth of living expenses in your emergency fund. The new goal: six months' worth, and as much as 12 if you have kids or rely on one income. If the budgeting strategies on page 3 won't get you there quickly enough, you may need to take more drastic action, like temporarily redirecting 401(k) contributions that you're making over your company's match. In the meantime, a home-equity line of credit can be a backup plan—if you have sufficient equity.

#### WHY YOU NEED A BIGGER SAFETY NET

Average length of unemployment



NOTE: Workers ages 20 and up.  
SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics

#### ACTION PLAN

- Keep six months of cash in a high-yield savings account and any additional emergency money in a short-term-bond index fund.
- Temporarily reduce payments on low-interest credit card or HELOC debt; shift the cash to your safety net.
- Earmark a low-rate credit card to use as a last resort.

### Q: What can my spouse and I do to avoid arguing about money these days?

**A:** The key to keeping the peace is communication—and not the kind that's at the top of your lungs. Sit down once a week for 45 minutes to talk money. The point of these conversations is not differences, but common goals. So less "You spent \$300 on golf shoes!" and more "How can we save \$300 more a month for retirement?" (Assigning blame only creates tension.) Tame the emotions by focusing on the facts: Name the goals, then brainstorm ways to accomplish them. Review progress regularly. If differing spending habits keep getting in the way, consider setting up separate accounts for mad money, so you each have freedom within limits.

#### ► Couples' conversation starters

Separately jot down responses; bring the answers to your first money meeting.

- What is my biggest money worry nowadays?
- What are my top three savings priorities, in order of importance?
- What am I pleased with about our financial life?
- Is there anything I want to understand better about our finances or wish that we could investigate together?
- If we had to cut back on spending, what three areas would I choose? What three would I avoid cutting?
- Are there any important money tasks I think we have been procrastinating on?

#### ACTION PLAN

- Don't sweat the small stuff: Agree to a dollar amount—say \$150—that you can each spend at one time without the other's okay.





## Q: Are there ways to streamline our finances so they're easier to manage?

**A:** Simplifying and automating can go a long way toward helping you feel more in control. That's especially helpful as the daily news reminds you that other parts of your financial life are *out of* your control. Start by consolidating bank accounts, rolling over old 401(k)s into one IRA, and removing all but two credit cards from your wallet (but don't cancel the others). Fewer statements make it easier to keep track of what you've got and where it's going. Next, sign up for Mint.com or Quickenonline.com, which let you monitor all your accounts in one place for free. Finally, go to your bank's site to set up online bill payments; consider having the amount owed automatically debited each month.

### ACTION PLAN

- Request credit and banking alerts signaling that bills are due or your balance is at a certain amount, so you can avoid penalties.
- Consider moving your banking to one institution (but heed \$250,000 FDIC limits).

### FEES YOU CAN AVOID WITH ACCOUNT ALERTS

<b>\$27</b>	<b>\$34</b>	<b>\$37</b>
BANK OVER-DRAFT FEE	CREDIT CARD LATE FEE	CREDIT CARD OVER-THE-LIMIT FEE

NOTE: National averages. SOURCES: IndexCreditCards.com; Moeb's Services

## Q: How do we get our kids onboard with our budget?

**A:** Whether your cutbacks are precautionary or involuntary (say, Mom just lost her job), explain in simple terms why the family needs to spend less. It's far worse for children to sense tension without understanding what's going on. Let them know where you will economize and where you won't. And ask for their ideas, so they feel like part of the team.

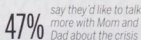
### ACTION PLAN

- Teach them to budget: Give your children a set allowance to cover specific expenses. Don't front them cash if they run out early.

### THEY'RE STRESSED TOO



### ...AND MANY WANT THEIR PARENTS' INPUT



NOTE: Kids ages 13 to 17  
SOURCE: Scarborough Kids Internet Panel

# 7 NEW RULES TO LIVE BY

Following these guidelines can help you attain financial nirvana. But pay close attention: The standards have changed as the economy has.

## SAVINGS

**Save at least 15% (and ideally 20%) of your income for long-term goals.**



10%



15%



20%

► The old rule was 10%, but that originated when folks could count on pension plans, shorter retirement periods, and better market returns.

## HOME

**Look at refinancing when rates are one percentage point lower than your rate,**

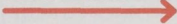
not two, as in years past (when closing costs were higher). Be sure to do the math—you should plan to live in the house for at least as long as it will take you to pay off the closing costs and fees with the reduction in payment. That's typically a few years.

## SPENDING

► Keep discretionary spending (clothes, dining out, movies) under 20% of your take-home pay. Before, you could play with up to 30%, but average debt obligations have risen.

## ALLOCATION

**To determine how much of your portfolio should be in stocks, do this math.**



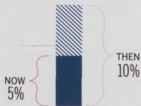
► The old formula subtracted your age from 100, but rising medical costs and increasing life spans necessitate being more aggressive. Comfortable with even more risk? Subtract from 120.

$$110 - \boxed{\phantom{00}} = \boxed{\phantom{00}} \%$$

Your Age                      In Stocks

## INVESTMENTS

► Invest no more than 5% of your portfolio in your company stock or any single stock. The old yardstick was 10%, but you'll be safer with more diversification.



## RETIREMENT

To figure out how big a nest egg you'll need, insert your ideal annual income into this formula:

**— x 30**

(Subtract any pension and Social Security income you'll get first!) That's up from the previous rule of 25 because of increased longevity.

**MONEY &  
MAINST.**

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QlikTech's software makes search more like your brain and applies it to business analysis

BILL SAPORITO ON QLIKTECH

# Global Business

AFRICA SOFTWARE



## AFRICA

**Stretching a Contract.** Liberia and Firestone go way back. A revised deal gives a wrecked nation new hope

BY KEN STIER

**LIBERIA AND FIRESTONE.** FEW country-and-company couplings have been as enduring as the one between the iconic American rubber and tire company and the West African nation germinated by one-time American slaves, even though the former is now owned by Japan's Bridgestone and the latter has

suffered disastrously from civil war.

What began in 1926 is entering a renewed phase that is evidence of Liberia's return from chaos and the determination of the government—aided by high-powered nonprofit experts—to get more value for the nation's assets. The relationship started soon after scion Harvey Firestone Jr. joined the family business and was dispatched on a

critical assignment: to find a cheap, reliable source of natural rubber to get around the duopolistic pricing of the British and Dutch. After visiting several countries, he settled on Liberia. Securing rights to 220 sq. mi. (almost 57,000 hectares), the company eventually planted 8 million rubber trees. Between 75,000 and 80,000 people—about 7,000 families—live on the plan-

**At the source**  
*Each Firestone rubber tapper tends 800 trees daily*

tation, which revolves around a small "capital," Harbel (a contraction of the names of Harvey and his wife Idabelle). Liberia still provides roughly 40% of Firestone's rubber.

For more than 20 years, from 1980, however, Liberia was also the location of a murderous internal conflict that claimed 200,000 lives and destroyed much of the nation's infrastructure. When the troubles subsided in 2003 with the installation of a transitional government protected by some 15,000 U.N. peacekeepers, Firestone was looking to resume operations, while Arcelor-Mittal, the Anglo-Indian steel giant, wanted to reopen an iron-ore mine. But the deals that emerged from negotiations in 2005 were criticized as far too favorable to the companies.

In 2006, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected President, and she vowed to renegotiate the contracts. To make good on her promise, the Harvard-trained banker tapped into her overseas network and enlisted the International Senior Lawyers Project (ISLP), which has been quietly offering pro bono help to developing—and deserving—nations since about 2002.

Previously, much of ISLP's work focused on promoting human rights and democratic governance. But more recently, the lawyers—mostly active or retired partners from major firms—have been throwing their weight behind efforts to craft better economic deals, training government officials to negotiate more favorable trade agreements and even sitting in at the negotiating table.

In Liberia, new deals with Firestone and ArcelorMittal allowed the country to assert a more robust sovereignty and ratchet up earnings through higher taxes. The new deal closed the loophole of intracompany transfer pricing, which has always provided a convenient means of lowballing export values.

In Firestone's case, land-rental rates were quadrupled to \$2 an acre (about \$5 a hectare) per year over the life of the contract, which was trimmed by 50 years to end in 2041. The company also agreed to build a \$10 million rubberwood factory that will employ 500 workers and could be the beginning of a new product line—one that other major rubber producers have had for years.

The agreement commits Firestone



#### Firestone's long partnership

*From top: Workers tote latex-filled buckets back to their village; Johnson Sirleaf, who took a tough contract stance; playtime on the plantation, which houses about 7,000 families*

to a range of social benefits, such as providing new and upgraded housing and building a high school, to correct conditions that have generated a torrent of negative publicity in recent years. "They are not the worst corporate citizens," says Michael Jordan, a rubber-industry expert who advised the ISLP. "But the 2008 agreement is forcing them to be a good corporate citizen. It is not being left to goodwill anymore... and that's a significant improvement for Liberia."

Firestone downplays the differences between the 2005 and 2008 contracts and maintains that the earlier one was legitimate and fair. "It doesn't make sense to get too good a deal. You get too good a deal, somebody is going to come back and beat you up about it, so we always wanted to get a deal that Firestone could defend to

anyone," argues Gerald Padmore, a Denver-based lawyer originally from Liberia who negotiated for Firestone in both deals. Padmore concedes that it would have been better to wait until a new government was elected before concluding the 2005 contract but says getting "clarity and stability" about Firestone's tax position was urgent if the company was expected to commit \$100 million over 10 years.

The concern is legitimate, says Jordan, who notes that the government had another compelling reason to reverse the contract: surging rubber prices that rose from 50¢ per kg in 2000 to \$1.20 per kg in 2005 and to \$3.30 per kg last summer. Firestone objected to renegotiations but ultimately relented. "You always talk if the government wants to talk to you," says Padmore.

Johnson Sirleaf has won wide praise for her leadership, including her critical role in pushing for these better deals. Her reputation was called into question recently by the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which recommended that she and others be barred from political office for their alleged roles in past civil wars. Johnson Sirleaf has acknowledged that she raised funds for Charles Taylor, a former President now facing war-crimes charges. But that support, she insists, was for aid when both were opposing the dictatorial rule of another earlier President, Samuel Doe. When Taylor's rule turned bloody, she opposed him.

It's sadly ironic, in that Liberia is getting critical international assistance in large part because of Johnson Sirleaf's reputation for incorruptibility. "President [Johnson] Sirleaf has worked tirelessly and with integrity to begin the difficult reconstruction of Liberia, which is fortunate to have her strong leadership," says Joseph C. Bell, a partner with the Washington law firm Hogan & Hartson who played a key role in ISLP's assistance to Liberia. ISLP has been involved in a dozen projects there—including drafting palm-oil concessions and upgrading the shipping industry's legal regime—which is making all contracts public, though not all are easily accessible. Imperfect as that development is, it's a significantly improved standard for both developing nations and the multinationals that do business with them. ■

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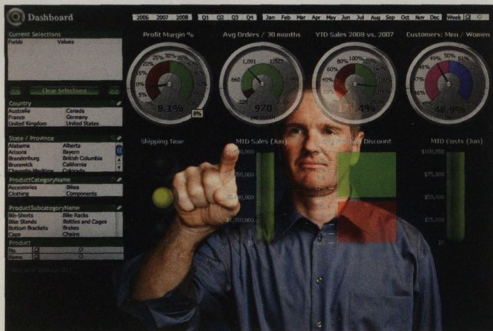
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# Brainiac. QlikTech's approach to finding and analyzing data makes connections the way your brain does



## BY BILL SAPORITO

WHEN IT COMES TO SEARCH ENGINES, your brain has it all over Yahoo! and Google. If you think of the word *airline*, your brain makes connections in all kinds of directions: planes, places, faces, food, money—and even airline companies. Plug *airline* into a search engine and the first thing you get is a list of airlines. Not bad, but it's limited and not necessarily informative. "Your brain is associative," says Lars Bjork, CEO of QlikTech. "Think of trying to remember the name of someone you met 20 years ago. You don't drill down. You probably try to remember a situation, someone else who was there."

Making search much more like your brain—and applying it to business analysis—is what has transformed QlikTech into one of the hotter business-intelligence-software companies around. The firm's QlikView program lets users search intuitively across databases and quickly displays information in charts and graphs designed for it. Last year, not exactly a joyride for

most companies, QlikTech's revenues grew 50%, to \$120 million, and it expects similar growth in 2009. And while most businesses have been shedding workers to reduce costs, the Radnor, Pa., firm added 160 new employees in 2008, a 50% increase from the previous year.

It's almost as if QlikTech is living in a different economy—indeed, in a different tech sector. And in a way, it is. The world of enterprise software has been dominated by big-cap companies such as Oracle and SAP. Commanding stacks of servers and squadrons of data wranglers, they work with their customers to develop customized sales and other vital business-reporting systems that are made available in formats like Excel. The downside is that it's time-consuming to get such projects up, and there's a cost to maintaining the system. QlikTech offers none of that: it drops off the product and collects a monthly fee per user.

QlikTech has almost reversed the process. The QlikView software lets users decide what data they want to collect, rather than

**Connectivity**  
*QlikTech CEO Bjork, in a photo simulation, at a typical QlikView screen*

sort through an information hierarchy. Want to know what sales were on Presidents' Day? Who sold the most? In states west of the Mississippi? Where the temperature was above 50°F? Click, click, click, click. No computer would organize data this way, explains Bjork, because most software was developed from hardware, meaning that it's a slave to linear application. However, your brain doesn't function like that. The idea is that by replicating some of the ways your brain works, the QlikView software can help users find what they need more quickly. "The time to value is extremely fast," says Bjork. "It's what people focus on."

It took a while for QlikTech to figure that out. The company was born in Sweden in 1993 as a programming consultancy. An assignment to develop a better way to present multidimensional data led to the realization that such a tool could be valuable in lots of places.

One of QlikTech's early test cases was at a Swedish hospital, where a trauma team used QlikView to figure out treatment for a man severely injured by a streetcar. By using the program to quickly tap into 17 different data systems (X-rays, labs, insurance, etc.), doctors were able to make a decision far more quickly than they could have in the past.

Most of QlikTech's customers are after more prosaic information: What's the state of my firm's sales? Where are the best prospects? Are we making budget? You could even use QlikView to manage your fantasy-football team.

It also turns out that because of QlikView's brainlike design, learning the program requires practically no training. Users figure it out themselves. They simply use their own brains. ■



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# Art

BOOKS MOVIES SHORT LIST

## BOOKS

### Real Genius.

Evoking an era when science was both glamorous and dangerous, *The Age of Wonder* is the most fascinating book of the year

BY LEV GROSSMAN

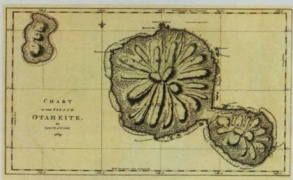
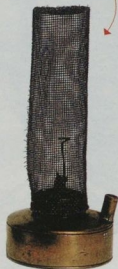


THE WORLD'S FIRST MANNED balloon flight took place on Nov. 21, 1783, in Paris. The balloon was blue and gold and 70 ft. (about 20 m) tall. It had no basket. You rode on a kind of circular balcony that hung around the balloon's neck like a collar. This meant that there had to be two passengers, for balance, and they had to stay on opposite sides of the balloon at all times. The two men in question were Jean-François Pilâtre de Rozier, a young doctor who was exactly as dashing





# Wonder Boys. Some key innovations



- 1. The Davy safety lamp** Thousands of miners died before Humphry Davy invented a lamp that wouldn't set off methane explosions
- 2. Exploring Tahiti** Joseph Banks conducted a pioneering anthropological study of "Otaheite," which shocked England with its sexual liberties
- 3. Lunar geography** The amateur stargazer William Herschel revolutionized the field (though he believed the moon was inhabited)

as he sounds, and the Marquis d'Arlandes, an army major. Their dialogue could not have been scripted better by Judd Apatow.

They couldn't see each other because the balloon was between them, so they had to yell back and forth. As the giant aircraft careened wildly over the roofs of Paris and the two men frantically shoveled straw into the fire that kept it flying, the marquis became more and more hysterical. "We must land now!" he yelled. "We must land *now*!" Pilâtre stayed icy calm. "Look, d'Arlandes," he said. "*Here we are above Paris. There's no possible danger for you. Are you taking this all in?*" But the marquis couldn't take it in. When a gust of wind jostled the balcony, he screamed, "What are you doing! *Stop dancing!*"

Eventually, after 27 minutes aloft, they landed safely. D'Arlandes—according to his own account—threw himself out onto the grass. Pilâtre just stood there. "We had enough fuel to fly for an hour," he said sadly. The crowd grabbed his green coat and tore it to pieces for souvenirs. He was an instant 18th-century rock star.

This anecdote appears in *The Age of Wonder* by Richard Holmes (Pantheon; 576

pages), which is the most flat-out fascinating book so far this year. You wouldn't get that from its title, which sounds like a tender coming-of-age novel, nor from its subtitle—*How the Romantic Generation Discovered the Beauty and Terror of Science*—which sounds like a course you napped through in college. But Holmes' account of experimental science at the end of the 1700s—when amateurs could still make major discoveries, when one new data point could overthrow a worldview—is beyond riveting. Science was like punk rock: if you had a basement, some free time and some hubris, you could do it.

The book is organized as a series of linked biographical sketches. One of them is of Humphry Davy, a cocky little guy who was born in Cornwall, England, in 1778. He was an apothecary's apprentice who practically frothed with genius and ambition. Over the course of his career, he postulated the carbon cycle, used electricity to isolate sodium and potassium and saved countless lives by inventing a safety lamp for coal miners. He also studied the health benefits of nitrous oxide—laughing gas. Oh, to be a fly on the wall while Davy huffed 18th-century whippits with Robert Southey and Samuel Taylor

Coleridge, both close friends. After ingesting 100 (!) quarts (95 liters) of nitrous using a homemade gas chamber, Davy wrote:

*I seemed to be a sublime being, newly created and superior to other mortals, I was indignant at what they said of me and stalked majestically out of the laboratory to inform Dr. Kinglake privately that nothing existed but thoughts.*

Davy's not here, man. (Coleridge was less impressed. As an opium addict, he was used to harder stuff.)

Such fraternization between poets and scientists wasn't uncommon. Poetry and science weren't wholly separate yet; they were seen as complementary ways of piercing the veil of everyday phenomena. William Wordsworth, Lord Byron and the

**At one of Lunardi's public launches, a young man got tangled up in the balloon's ropes and fell to his death**



Shelleys (Percy Bysshe and Mary) followed scientific breakthroughs like sports scores. Holmes traces echoes of the astronomical work of William Herschel, who discovered Uranus, through Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* ("the stars that still sojourn, yet still move onward") and into Keats' "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer": "Then I felt like some watcher of the skies/ When a new planet swims into his ken."

Herschel is the most touching figure in *Age of Wonder*. A refugee from Germany, he began his career as an oboist, but at 27 became consumed with curiosity about the stars and started building his own telescopes. He was discovered by the son of a Royal Society member, who stumbled over him moon-gazing in the streets one night through a home-brewed 7-ft. (2 m) telescope that turned out to be more powerful than that of the astronomer royal. Herschel went on to pioneer the idea of a vast and unimaginably old universe. After looking through Herschel's telescope, Byron wrote, "It was the comparative insignificance of ourselves and our world, when placed in competition with the mighty whole, of which it is an atom, that first led me to imagine that our pretensions to eternity might be... over-rated."

Holmes doesn't romanticize the Romantics. The first great age of ballooning, which began so amusingly in the skies above Paris, rapidly declined into mere showmanship. (The flamboyant Italian aerialist Vincent Lunardi once proposed the following toast: "I give you me, Lunardi—whom all the ladies love!") From there it descended into tragedy and defeat. At one of Lunardi's public launches, a young man got tangled up in some of the balloon's ropes, was dragged aloft, then fell to his death. Lunardi died in poverty, and the dauntless Pilâtre was killed while attempting to cross the English Channel.

Ballooning wouldn't be revived in earnest for decades. But it had permanently changed the way people thought about the planet. "It had been imagined that it would reveal the secrets of the heavens above," Holmes writes, "but in fact it showed the secrets of the world beneath. The early aeronauts suddenly saw the earth as a giant organism, mysteriously patterned and unfolding, like a living creature." Shelley must surely have been among the first to imagine the earth as it would be seen by astronauts a century and a half later:

*Green and azure sphere which shinest  
With a light which is divinely  
Among all the lamps of Heaven  
To whom light and life is given*

For the time being, it was left to the poets to go where the earthbound scientists could not.

## BOOKS

# Are You There, Judy Blume? It's Me, Lizzie. A critic revisits the classics of her girlhood and finds much to love

BY MARY POLS



ANY AUTHOR WHO WON the affections of Lizzie Skurnick in her girlhood should count her- or himself lucky. Back then, Skurnick wept over books, pressed them on friends and mined them for educational material—cultural, social and sexual. Some tempting literary morsels drove her to actual theft. Now in *Shelf Discovery: The Teen Classics We Never Stopped Reading* (Avon; 424 pages), Skurnick, 35, revisits her favorite young-adult novels to explore why they left such an impression on her and other women of her generation.

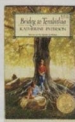
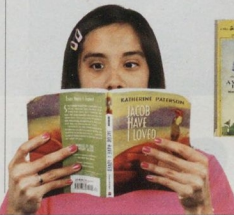
*Shelf Discovery* is a dizzyingly crowded, joyful hodgepodge of book reports, 65 of them written by Skurnick, eight contributed by other writers. There are loving—and less reverent—remembrances of books by Judy Blume, Lois Duncan, Madeleine L'Engle, Laura Ingalls Wilder and Katherine Paterson, among many others, all illustrated with the original (or era-correct) cover art. This is potent nostalgia for girlhoods past; the strawberry scent of Bonne Bell Lip Smackers practically wafts off the pages.

If one of Skurnick's goals is to encourage glorious detours, she succeeds; just a few chapters in, I paused to reworship *A Wrinkle in Time*. Her enthusiasm can hardly be contained. "It's taking all my strength to not type the book for you in its entirety," she writes of *Little House in the Big Woods*. Only occasionally does a former treasure disappear; on revisiting *Go Ask Alice*, Skurnick

dismisses it as "TRULY THE WORST WRITTEN BOOK IN THE WORLD."

Skurnick has an admitted "HUGE ADDICTION" to all caps, which she blames on a literary heroine who has stood the test of time: Louise Fitzhugh's Harriet Welsch, a.k.a. Harriet the Spy. Homage aside, in conjunction with gushy OMGs and exclamation points, the use of all caps points to the problematic nature of writing for an Internet audience. Many of these essays first appeared under the heading "Fine Lines" on Jezebel.com, where the overarching tone is that of the cool babysitter—sweetly patronizing, with a not-yet-entirely-earned wisdom. Within that home, the essays seemed penetrating and serious, like a few pages of the *New York Review of Books* tucked into *Marie Claire*.

But reading them in book form, one longs for more intellectual heft—Skurnick is certainly capable of it—and fewer of the cheery colloquialisms that were apparently needed to hold the fleeting attention of the average Web surfer. Many essays feel too slim and too eager to please rather than provoke. And as intimate as its tone is, this "reading memoir" lacks a broader sense of Skurnick herself. A tougher editor would have sharpened Skurnick's focus, and it would have paid off. When she introduces you to, say, Paterson's *Jacob Have I Loved*, with its depiction of sisterly jealousy as a "painful, enduring state," she convinces you that your 12-year-old self *needed* that book. And makes you wish you could have palled around with this opinionated, big-hearted fiction lover. Presuming she ever put her book down.



**Page turners** From Skurnick's library, four young-adult musts: *Jacob Have I Loved*, *A Wrinkle in Time*, *Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret* and *Bridge to Terabithia*

MOVIES

# What's Not to Love? Three new comedies milk formula for romance. You may fall hard—for the sound tracks

BY RICHARD CORLISS

THE MOVIE CALENDAR IS WEIRD. THE SUMMER blockbuster season begins the first week in May (this year: *Wolverine*), reaches its twin peaks the weeks of Memorial Day and July 4, then gradually subsides. We're still in midsummer, yet there's only one ginormous action adventure (*G.I. Joe: The Rise of Cobra*) awaiting release, and not a cartoon hero or a dinosaur—or a cartoon dinosaur—in sight. Suddenly it's the time of real people learning how to cope with recognizable problems. The Hollywood kind of problems—the ones that can be solved in under two hours.

Mind you, there's nothing intellectually strenuous in the late-summer offerings. These are quirky romantic comedies in which dissonant figures struggle to achieve

harmonic convergence. They take their cues from a pair of summer releases 20 years ago: *When Harry Met Sally*, which described a friendship that was sometimes a courtship, and *sex, lies, and videotape*, in which a man's impotence was the spur to romance.

Since then, eccentricity has become the norm. The characters might be two people who hate each other and thus are bound to fall in love, as in *The Ugly Truth*, or strangers with complementary needs, as in *The Answer Man*, or, for a change, folks who seem simpatico but have trouble becoming a couple, as in (*500*) *Days of Summer*. What the new films share is an aim to evoke familiar laughs and perhaps a climactic tear. That's the difference between an action movie and a comedy: the first makes you gasp, "I've never seen that before!"; the second has you nodding, saying "Hey, that's me."

Worst first. In *The Ugly Truth*, directed by Robert Luketic, Abby (Katherine Heigl) is the producer of a Sacramento, Calif., TV-news show whose ratings skyrocket when Mike (Gerard Butler), a macho man with a Cro-Magnon spin on dating, joins the team. Desperate to get a man—any man but Mike—Abby takes his advice on landing the hunky surgeon (Eric Winter) who lives next door. Mike will play a burly Cyrano to the doctor's winsome Roxane, until Abby realizes that Mr. Wrong is right for her.

## Love's Labour's Lost

FROM THE GET-GO, THE MOVIE IS ALL UGLY, no truth. Mike might be a little rough-edged, but Abby is a control freak, bossing everyone from underlings to blind dates. Something is very wrong when the beast is instantly more endearing than the beauty, and when a movie written by three women (two of whom did the very entertaining *Legally Blonde*, also directed by Luketic) becomes an unplanned essay in misogyny. Then again, everything goes awry here. A restaurant scene with Abby wearing vibrating underpants (a gloss on Meg Ryan's fake orgasm in *When Harry Met Sally*) is an



## When It's Hot, They're Hot. Five pairs of sizzling summer lovers



### PICNIC, 1955

Small-town Kim Novak has a fling with hunky hobo William Holden. Big scene: they dance sexily to "Moonglow"



### A SUMMER PLACE, 1959

Teens Troy Donahue and Sandra Dee hear Max Steiner's swoony theme, have hot sex

embarrassment; the R-rated jokes earn only smirks; even the obligatory falling-in-love dance number gets botched. Blame Heigl, who's also an executive producer of the film. After *Knocked Up* and *27 Dresses* she seemed primed to be the new Sandra Bullock, but this debacle makes Bullock's lame *The Proposal* shine like a screwball-comedy gem.

*The Answer Man*, which was called *Arlen Faber* when it showed at Sundance this year, has more going for it. Jeff Daniels plays the long-ago author of a spiritual best seller, *Me and God*, who's since become a recluse in the most photogenic part of Philadelphia. He crawls out of his shell to meet a single-mom chiropractor (Lauren Graham), befriend a recovering alcoholic (Lou Taylor Pucci) and make a public display of vulnerability—all staples of the genre, as is the plangent piano score that indie films employ to tell viewers what to feel. (Sometimes watching a sweet movie can rouse the dormant grouch.)

But Daniels is always worth watching because he does a lot with a little; for him, the difference between bliss and rage is the subtle shifting of about two facial muscles. With Daniels (*The Squid and the Whale*) and Pucci (*Thumbsucker*) joined by Kat Dennings

## There's a cool calculation in (500) Days of Summer's chocolate-valentine heart: the urge to be the next *Junö*

(*Nick & Norah's Infinite Playlist*) and Olivia Thirlby (*Snow Angels*), the movie is like a convention of appealing indie stars. Writer-director John Hindman mostly gives them room to breathe, and *The Answer Man* is likeable because it doesn't try too hard to be.

Meanwhile, (500) *Days of Summer* sweats like a dockworker to win your favor. All that labor could pay off: the film earned a bundle in its first week of limited release and will soon broaden its charm offensive, or assault, at a theater near you. The script, by Scott Neustadter and Michael H. Weber, imagines that the perfect young man, Joseph Gordon-Levitt's Tom, falls in love with the perfect young woman, Zooey Deschanel's Summer. But she's reluctant to commit; she refuses to think of them as a couple, even after they've become best friends and sex partners.

The movie begins at the end of their

affair and hopscotches semirandomly through the days and nights of karaoke, soulful chats and not quite connecting. Anyone who's been there knows that the one who's more loved is always in control of the one who's more loving. But Tom keeps trying. He's like the most determined participant in the Olympics of Romance. He's also our identity figure, in a woman's movie for sensitive guys. Think we don't care? It says. Think we don't hurt?

Director Marc Webb (a vide-auteur making his first feature) gives every scene a bang for comic or emotional effect; as he cuts away you can hear the rim shot. The songs that spray-paint the sound track, as well as the myriad movie references, are mostly antique (1960s to '80s); Webb wants old people to like this young-lovers film. Wants everyone to.

That's the problem with a lot of indie films: covering all the bases. For all the charm of its two leads, there's a cool calculation in *Summer's* chocolate-valentine heart: the urge to be the next *Junö*. When little films strain to be big hits, they turn quirks into formula and lose the romance of independence. They may as well be *Wolverine*. ■



**The quirky couples** From left: Gordon-Levitt woos Deschanel in (500) *Days of Summer*; Heigl and Butler test their tryst on the dance floor in *The Ugly Truth*; Graham tries to straighten out Daniels in *The Answer Man*



### GREASE, 1978

It's always summer at Rydell High, where punk John Travolta woos sweet Olivia Newton-John. It's electrifyin'!



### DIRTY DANCING, 1987

Jennifer Grey and Patrick Swayze know all the steps in the intimate choreography of forbidden love



### VICKY CRISTINA BARCELONA, 2008

Spain is for lovers: visiting vamp Scarlett Johansson and resident stud Javier Bardem



Old Lunch Plan:



17

18

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New Lunch Plan:



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# Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



## 1 DVD Dollhouse, Season 1

Talk about multiple personalities: Echo (Eliza Dushku) is an "active," whose employer rewrites her memories and rents her out, in Joss Whedon's digital-age Frankenstein story. An unaired bonus episode sets the table for Season 2, so newbies and fans alike can expect to have their minds blown.

## 2 DVD Harvard Beats Yale 29-29

1968: Vietnam, assassinations and urban chaos raged. And Yale, led by godlike QB Brian Dowling (B.D. in *Doonesbury*), faced Harvard, anchored by guard Tommy Lee Jones, in *The Game*. So when does a tie equal a win? See Kevin Rafferty's superthrilling jock doc to find out.

## 3 BOOK The Snakehead

Patrick Radden Keefe's meticulous anatomization of a massive Chinese-immigrant-smuggling operation reads like a mashup of *The Godfather* and *Chinatown*, complete with gun battles, a ruthless kingpin and a mountain of cash. Except that it's all true.

## 4 MOVIE In the Loop

The tragedy of the buildup to the U.S.-British invasion of Iraq is replayed as farce in Armando Iannucci's acid, acute amorality play. Insults fly like rockets (James Gandolfini, as a dovish U.S. general, is nicknamed Shrek), while smarties connive their way into disaster.

## 5 DVD Life on Mars, Series 1

Heard of getting knocked into next week? Modern-day cop Sam Tyler (John Simm) is hit by a car and wakes up in 1973. This British sci-fi mystery (inspiration for a canceled U.S. remake) charms with its culture-clash story of social mores and forensics in the pre-*CSI* era.

**Arts Online**  
For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to [time.com/entertainment](http://time.com/entertainment)



## Timothy Hutton's Short List

Academy Award and Golden Globe winner Timothy Hutton (*Ordinary People*) is currently headlining TNT's *Leverage* and just finished shooting Roman Polanski's *The Ghost*. Off set, you might find him relaxing as an armchair pirate or engrossed in the mysteries of the universe.

### High-seas drama

The series *Whale Wars* on Animal Planet follows volunteer eco-pirates as they sabotage Japanese whaling fleets in Antarctica. They board the ships and try to stop the slaughtering—incredibly dangerous and important work. The show is very exciting and makes you feel like a participant.

### Music mix

I was driving into New York City when I heard "Sailing to Byzantium" by Spottiswoode and His Enemies. I got home and listened to more from this band. I like the variety—one track's jazzy, another's bluesy, and together they're a perfectly witty and disturbed mix.

### Beyond The Pink Panther

A *Celebration of Sellers* is a comprehensive collection of Peter Sellers' recordings, from satires of Beatles songs to movie outtakes and sound tracks. I especially like "Boiled Bananas and Carrots" and his parody of "She Loves You." If all you know of Sellers is *The Pink Panther* and *Dr. Strangelove*, do yourself a favor and dial into these tracks.

### Scientific discoveries

My son recommended ScientificAmerican.com, which has great articles and documentaries. The last one I watched—*Does Dark Energy Really Exist?*—explains the controversy over this unknown force that counteracts the effects of gravity.

### Five wild books in one

The epic 2666 by Roberto Bolaño is like five books in one. The stories and styles are so different, with crazy characters on wild-goose chases. His previous novel, *The Savage Detectives*, blew me away, and this one's even wilder and more devastating.





Nancy

# Gibbs

## Dying Together. An elderly British couple's suicide pact is a beautifully romantic act—and a troubling one

WAS THERE A DUET PLAYING IN THE BACK OF HIS MIND, I wonder, when Sir Edward Downes, the former conductor of Britain's Royal Opera, held hands with his wife of 54 years and drank the poison with her? Wagner maybe, or Verdi's *Aida*, one lover condemned to die, the other choosing to follow rather than live half a life, all alone.

The story of Sir Edward's "death pact" was at first sight an irresistible love story. His wife Joan, 74, a former ballerina, had a diagnosis of terminal liver and pancreatic cancer; because assisted suicide is illegal in Britain, they traveled to a Zurich clinic, where, for a fee of about \$7,000 per patient, the group Dignitas arranges for death by barbiturate. "They drank a small quantity of clear liquid and then lay down on the beds next to each other," their son Caractacus said. They fell asleep and died within minutes, he reported, calling it a "very civilized" final act.

Civilized, in this case, is a relative term. The deaths are typically videotaped, to protect Dignitas' doctors and nurses from prosecution in any way coercing the patient. While Dignitas claims to be nonprofit—under Swiss laws, the most liberal in the world, you may assist in a suicide but not profit from it—its finances are less than transparent. The "clinic" over the years has moved between apartments, hotel rooms, a camper van. But none of that is what made the story so confounding, at a time when the tensions between private rights, public costs and first principles have never seemed so fierce.

The problem is that Sir Edward, while in failing health at age 85, was not dying. His eyesight was nearly gone, his hearing was weak, and he faced the prospect of life without his soulmate. But sorrow is not grounds for a doctor to assist in a suicide in most places that allow it. Nor is despair. The Netherlands permits euthanasia for those suffering intolerable pain; Oregon requires two doctors to confirm that the patient has less than six months to live.

Some euthanasia activists, including Dignitas founder Ludwig Minelli, believe in death on demand. "If you accept the idea of personal autonomy," he argues, "you can't make conditions that only terminally ill people should have this right." Autonomy and dignity are precious values; the phrase *sanctity of life* can sound sterile and pious in the face of profound pain and suffering. But

Minelli is arguing for much more: that autonomy is an overriding right. This view rejects the idea that society might ever value my life more than I do or derive a larger benefit from treating every life as precious, to the point of protecting me from myself.

This matters because we are about to have a fateful conversation about the end of life. We can talk about reform and prevention and digital medical records, but it will remain true, as President Obama observed, that "those toward the end of their lives are accounting for potentially 80% of the total health-care bill." If we really are going to change how we spend money on health, it means we must change how we spend money on death.

We allow for the removal of feeding tubes, the withdrawal of respirators, the replacement of aggressive treatment with palliative care; these can all be wise and merciful choices. But each step forward gets a little more slippery. Is there some point, visible in the cloudy moral distance, where the right to die becomes a duty to die? We don't need to set Grandma adrift on her ice floe; the pressures would be subtle, wrapped in the language of reason and romance—the bereaved widower who sees no reason to try to start over, the quadriplegic rugby player

whose memories paralyze his hopes, the chronically ill mother who wants to set her children free. Already in Oregon, one-third of those who chose assisted suicide last year cited the burden on their families and caregivers as a reason. A study in the Netherlands found that one in four doctors said they had killed patients without an explicit request—including one doctor who believed that a dying Dutch nun was prevented from requesting euthanasia because of her religion, so he felt the just and merciful thing to do was to decide for her.

The growing traffic in "death tourism" is an indictment of a health-care system that seems to incentivize everything except the peaceful death to which we all aspire. But I'm not sure the solution is to invite Dignitas to open a clinic down the street from every hospital. Advances in palliative care mean that those last years of life do not have to be a moral, medical and financial nightmare. I respect Sir Edward's right to make what his manager called a "typically brave and courageous" choice. I just wish he'd had better choices.



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The STANDUP Act\* (H.R. 1895) creates a National Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) law that: limits nighttime driving, reduces in-car distractions, puts a cap on the

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